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ABSTRACT

The second volume in this series contains three articles dealing with various aspects of Romanian-English contrastive analysis. The first articles, "The Contrastive Morphophonology of Romanian and English," by Anca Belchita-Hartular, aims at a descriptive analysis of the phonological aspect of inflection in Romanian and English, in an attempt to reveal similarities and differences in the structure of the two languages. "Sentence Contraction in Romanian and English. The Nominalization," by Ileana Vincenz-Vintu, represents a contrastive analysis of Romanian and English sentences generated through nominalization rules. The third article, "A Contrastive Analysis of Reflexive Constructions in English and Romanian," by Brigita Visan-Neuman, summarizes the principal types of classification of reflexive constructions that have been suggested by linguists. (CLK)

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THE ROMANIAN-ENGLISH CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS PROJECT

MONOGRAPH STUDIES

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THE ROMANIAN-ENGLISH
CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS PROJECT
Director Prof. Dumitru Chițoran, Ph. D.

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Some of the studies elaborated within the framework of the Contrastive Analysis Project are of a more extensive nature, thus assuming the character of shorter monographs. It is the case of Mrs. Belchiță Anca's study on the Contrastive Morphophonology of English and Romanian, Ileana Vincenz's study on Nominalization in English and Romanian and B. Vișan's paper on Reflexives in English and Romanian.

Since we consider them to be final reports on the respective selected topics which will be reflected as such in the final synthesis, we have deemed it proper to publish them in full in a new series of publications of our Project meant to include all studies of a monographic nature.

The present volume was coordinated and edited by D. Chițoran and B. Vișan.

THE CONTRASTIVE MORPHOPHONOLOGY
OF ROMANIAN AND ENGLISH

by Anca Belchiță-Hartular

0. The present paper aims at a descriptive analysis of the phonological aspect of inflexion in Romanian and English, trying to reveal similarities and dissimilarities in the structure of the two languages.

Before analysing inflexion in both languages we shall first consider the phonological systems chosen as a basis for description.

A detailed presentation of the inflexional system of the two languages and of the exceptions to the system may facilitate the observation of the common and divergent points in English and Romanian. Special "practical", pedagogical remarks will be made only to the extent required by the theoretical presentation.

1. We shall use for the two languages the phonological systems presented under 1.1., 1.2. and 1.3.

We shall not give a description and a detailed argumentation, as this is not the purpose of the paper.

1.1. Both the Romanian and the English vowel system may be described in the terms of the following coordinates:

- a. aperture: open - closed
- b. place of articulation: front - back

1.1.1. The four distinctive features having binary values,

characterize the vowel system of Romanian as follows (cf. Figure 1).¹

	a	e	i	ə	ɨ	o	u
Open	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
Closed	-	-	+	-	+	-	+
Front	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
Back	-	+	+	-	-	-	-

Figure 1

or in a graphic representation (cf. Figure 2) :

	Front		Back
Closed	i	ɨ	u
Open	e	ə	o
	a		

Figure 2

The vowels of Romanian

/i/	fin	/u/	bun
/e/	bec	/o/	bon
/ɨ/	fin	/a/	val
/ə/	vai		

1.1.2. Using the same distinctive features as for Romanian we obtain the following representation of the English phonological system (cf. Figure 3) :

	a	æ	ɛ	e	ɪ	ɨ	ə	ɪ	ɔ	o	ʊ	u
Open	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Closed	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
Back	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
Front	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-

Figure 3

¹ We use the phonetic symbols of the International Phonetics Association IPA.

In the series marked [+ front] and in the one marked [+back] the vowels : E, e, I, i ; ɔ, o ; ʊ, u are two by two identically characterized.

As they form minimal pairs in English, and consequently each of them is a phonemic unity, the use of another distinctive feature is required for the English vowel system besides those necessary and sufficient for the description of the Romanian vowel system.

This feature refers to the degree of the muscular tension involved in articulation of a back or a front vowel.

According to whether the tension is stronger or weaker, the vowels may be characterized as tense or lax.

The feature may be replaced by establishing certain aperture degrees, so that the whole binary system of characterization is modified into a gradual one.

In order to preserve a consistent description, the characterization tense - lax is preferable. Therefore, in the terms of the features: close, open, front, back, tense,² the English vowel system is the following (cf. Figure 4) :

	a	æ	ɛ	e	I	i	ə	ɪ	ɔ	o	ʊ	u
Open	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Close	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
Back	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
Front	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tense	0	0	-	+	-	+	0	0	-	+	-	+

Figure 4

We mention the "introduction" of a feature, redundant for Romanian but necessary for English. Its different character in

² We mark 0 the indifference of a phoneme to the respective feature. As opposed to tense, lax is marked by [-tense].

the two languages makes the distinction tense - lax difficult to perceive and reproduce for a native speaker of Romanian, therefore frequent confusions arise between the members of each minimal pair. Graphically, the English vowel system may be represented as in (Fig.5)

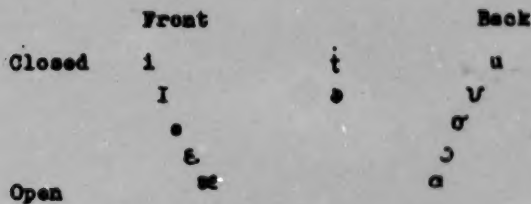


Figure 5

The English vowels³

- /i/ : heat / hit/, heed/hid/
- /I/ : hit/hIt/, hid/hId/
- /e/ : hate/het/, haze/hæz/
- /æ/ : hat/hæt/, hand /hænd/
- /ə/ : hut/hət/, hug /həg/
- /u/ : hoot/hut/, whose /huːz/
- /ʊ/ : hook /hʊk/, hood /hʊd/
- /o/ : hope/hop/, nose /hoːz/
- /ɔ/ : hawk/hɔk/, haul/hol/
- /ɑ/ : hot/hat/, hod/had/.

1.2. For Romanian as well as for English the category of semivowels is a highly debated problem. We shall concentrate on the solution we consider the most adequate for a contrastive analysis of the two languages and which, at the same time represents the simplest basis for the description of the alternations occurring in the course of inflexion,

³ After W. Hensler and Francis S. Juhász, A Contrastive Analysis of Hungarian and English Phonology, American Council of Learned Societies, Project No. 70, Sept. 1964.

1.2.1. In the Romanian phonological system we distinguish the following semivowels:

q, q, j, w⁴, which form the diphtongs qa (deal), go (leorpi), qa, (scare), ja (iarnă), je (biet), ja (biată), ju (iute), aj (mai), aj (mai), ij (vii), oj (oi), ui (pui), aj (răi), ij (oșine), wa (cuart) aw (au), ew (meu), iw (viu), ow (nou), uw (perpetuu), aw (sau), iw (riu), and of the triptongs qaj (leacă), jaaj (ai-ai), qaj (beai), qaw (vreau), jaaj (iau), jaaj (piei), jaaj (aripă), qqa (leacă).

We mention that part of the above diphtongs and triptongs do not appear at the morpheme level but they appear in the flexional paradigms of the respective words.

1.2.2. In English the semivowels /j/ and /w/, together with the vowels /e/ and /o/ form the diphtongs: /ej/, /oj/, /aw/⁵ and are the median element in the triptongs /eja/ (lien), /awa/ (tower), /oja/ (employer).

The latter appears only in derivatives and never in the basic form of a morpheme.

4 Their consideration as (a) vowels accompanied by the "positional operator" : the same syllable with another vowel (Emanuel Vasiliu "Fonologia limbii române", Bucharest 1966) or as (b) vowels, in the basic form of morphemes, subsequently receiving the feature "non-vocalic", by a phonological rule, are problems we shall not deal with here. The simply descriptive presentation of the material offers possibilities for further interpretations.

5 Among the multiple interpretations of the English vowel system we have chosen the simplest one. The other phonemic sequences which might be considered as diphtongs: /ij/, /ej/, /ow/, /uw/ in feel, fail, most, moose are in fact tense vowels cf. W. Nemer and Francis S. Johnson, op.cit.

1.3. The consonantal system on which the presentation of the Romanian inflexional system is based is the following (cf. Figure 6)

	Labial	Dental	Palatal	Velar
Occlusive	p b	t d	k ɡ	ŋ
Nasal	m	n		
Lateral		l		
Central		r		
Fricative	f v	s z	ʃ ʒ	h
Affricate		ts	tʃ dʒ	

Figure 6

In presenting the consonantal system we have used distinctive articulatory and not acoustic features as the former are more relevant for the basis of articulation of the speakers whose basic language is Romanian and whose target language is English.

The Consonants of Romanian

/p/ : pat	/k/ : car
/b/ : bat	/g/ : gară
/m/ : masă	/ŋ/ : chen
/t/ : tar	/ʃ/ : ghen
/d/ : dar	/tʃ/ : ceas
/ts/ : țară	/ʒ/ : geam
/n/ : nară	/h/ : har
/l/ : lac	/s/ : sar
/r/ : rac	/z/ : sar
	/ʃ/ : șale
	/ʒ/ : jale

1.3.2. The English consonantal system on which the description of inflexion is based, is the following (Figure 7)

	Labial	Dental	Interdental	Palatal	Velar
Occlusive	p b	t d		k ɡ	ŋ ɣ
Nasal	m	n			
Lateral		l			
Central		r			
Fricative	f v	s z	θ ð	ʃ ʒ	h
Affricative				tʃ dʒ	

Figure 7

The consonants of English⁶

/p/ : pot /pat/	/k/ : cape /kep/
/b/ : barb /barb/	/g/ : go /go/
/m/ : man /men/	/n/ : hot /hat/
/f/ : foot /fut/	/s/ : sink /sɪŋk/
/v/ : vain /ven/	/z/ : zoo /zu/
/t/ : tip /tɪp/	/ʃ/ : shoe /ʃu/
/d/ : dead /ded/	/ʒ/ : rouge (ruʒ)
/n/ : never (nevə), cotton /kətn/	/θ/ : think (θɪŋk/
/ŋ/ : sing /sɪŋ/	/ð/ : there /ðer/
/l/ : lip /lɪp/	/tʃ/ : church /tʃɜrtʃ/
/r/ : rose /roz/, fur /fɜ/	/dʒ/ : judge /dʒʌdʒ/

To the above mentioned consonants we add the consonantal /y/ and /w/ as in yes/jes/ (but sigh/saɪ/), wife/waɪf/ (but cow /kau/).

1.3.3. Comparing the phonological systems of Romanian and English, we notice the presence in English of a consonantal interdental series, which does not exist in Romanian (/θ, ð/), as well as the velar nasal /ŋ/. This fact, as in the case of the vowel system, may have consequences in the assimilation of the English consonants by the speakers of Romanian.

⁶ After W. Nesser and Francis S. Juhasz, op.cit.

2. In order to establish the phonological variations undergone by lexical morphemes in the course of inflexion in Romanian, we shall give below the flexional classes, on which our description is based.

2.1. Romanian nouns have been divided into three flexional classes according to the grammatical morphemes selected for marking the grammatical categories

$$\begin{bmatrix} -Pl \\ +Dir \end{bmatrix}, \begin{bmatrix} -Pl \\ -Dir \end{bmatrix}, \begin{bmatrix} +Pl \\ +Dir \end{bmatrix}. \text{ (cf. Figure 3)}^7$$

Figure 3

Class			$\begin{bmatrix} -Pl \\ +Dir \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} -Pl \\ -Dir \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} +Pl \\ +Dir \end{bmatrix}$	Examples
I [+Flex]	1	a	a	e	e	caș
		b	a	i	i	stradă
		c	a	i	iri	blană
		d	a	e	uri	lipsă
	2		o	le	le	stea
		a	e	i	i	vulpe
	3	b	e	e	e	invățătoare
		c	e	i	uri	mincare
II [-Flex]	1		a	$\begin{matrix} 2, 1 a \\ 1 b \end{matrix}$	i	tată
	2		u	u	i	codru, pom, pui, ochi
	3		e	e	e	ciine
III [-Gen]	1	a	u	u	e	creion
		b	u	u	uri	dulap
		c	u	u	i	consiliu
	2		e	e	e	nume

7 For the argumentation of this classification see Anca Belchiță Flexiunea nominală în gramatica transformțională a limbii române (I) Studii și cercetări lingvistice, 4, 1969, pp.415-426. We marked neuter nouns in the table [-Gender].

2.2. Romanian adjectives have been grouped in five flexional classes, taking into account the morphemes selected for expressing the relations:

$$\begin{bmatrix} + & Pl \\ - & \end{bmatrix} \quad \text{and} \quad \begin{bmatrix} + & Fem \\ - & \end{bmatrix} \quad (\text{cf. Figure 9})$$

Class	Gender	$\begin{bmatrix} -Pl \\ +Dir \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} -Pl \\ +Dir \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} +Pl \end{bmatrix}$	Examples
1	$\begin{bmatrix} -Fem \end{bmatrix}$	u	u	1	bun, aeru, dibaci
	$\begin{bmatrix} +Fem \end{bmatrix}$	o	e	1	spanchiu
2	$\begin{bmatrix} -Fem \end{bmatrix}$	u	u	1	etc, lung, vechi
	$\begin{bmatrix} +Fem \end{bmatrix}$	o	i	i	argintiu, galbui
3	$\begin{bmatrix} -Fem \end{bmatrix}$	u	u	1	moiu, siliter
	$\begin{bmatrix} +Fem \end{bmatrix}$	e	e	e	
4	$\begin{bmatrix} -Fem \end{bmatrix}$	u	u	1	râu - reu
	$\begin{bmatrix} +Fem \end{bmatrix}$	o	le	le	greu-gree
5	$\begin{bmatrix} -Fem \end{bmatrix}$	e	e	1	verde
	$\begin{bmatrix} +Fem \end{bmatrix}$	e	i	i	
6	$\begin{bmatrix} -Fem \end{bmatrix}$	e	e	e	feroce
	$\begin{bmatrix} +Fem \end{bmatrix}$	e	e	e	

Figure 9⁸

2.3. According to the classification in Figure 8 we give below the phonological symbols of the grammatical morphemes selected by the nominal inflexion classes and subclasses.

I. For $\begin{bmatrix} -Pl \\ +Dir \end{bmatrix}$ class: $\begin{bmatrix} -Fem \\ 1 \end{bmatrix}$ selects /e/

$\begin{bmatrix} -Fem \\ 2 \end{bmatrix}$ " /u/

$\begin{bmatrix} -Gen \\ 1 \end{bmatrix}$ " /u/

⁸ For details and argumentation see Anca Belchiță - Nominal flexion in the transformational grammar of Romanian (II), Linguistic studies and researches, 5, 1969, pp.509-553.

II For $\begin{bmatrix} -Pl \\ +Dir \end{bmatrix}$ class:	$\begin{bmatrix} - Fem \\ 3 \end{bmatrix}$	selects /e/
	$\begin{bmatrix} - Gen \\ 2 \end{bmatrix}$	
	$\begin{bmatrix} + Fem \\ 1 \end{bmatrix}$	" /e/
	$\begin{bmatrix} + Fem \\ 3 \end{bmatrix}$	" /e/
III For $\begin{bmatrix} -Pl \\ -Dir \end{bmatrix}$ class:	$\begin{bmatrix} + Fem \\ 2 \end{bmatrix}$	" /e/
	$\begin{bmatrix} + Fem \\ 1 a \\ 1 d \\ 3 b \end{bmatrix}$	selects /e/
	$\begin{bmatrix} + Fem \\ 1 b \\ 1 c \\ 3 a \\ 3 c \end{bmatrix}$	" /i/
	$\begin{bmatrix} + Fem \\ 2 \end{bmatrix}$	" /le/
IV For $\begin{bmatrix} +Pl \\ -Dir \end{bmatrix}$ class:	$\begin{bmatrix} + Fem \\ 1 a \\ 3 b \end{bmatrix}$	selects /e/
	$\begin{bmatrix} - Gen \\ 1 a \\ 2 \end{bmatrix}$	
	$\begin{bmatrix} + Fem \\ 1 b \\ 3 a \end{bmatrix}$	" /i/
	$\begin{bmatrix} - Fem \end{bmatrix}$	
	$\begin{bmatrix} - Gen \\ 1 c \end{bmatrix}$	
	$\begin{bmatrix} + Fem \\ 2 \end{bmatrix}$	" /le/
	$\begin{bmatrix} + Fem \\ 1 c \\ 1 d \\ 3 c \end{bmatrix}$	selects /uri/
	$\begin{bmatrix} - Gen \\ 1 b \end{bmatrix}$	

2.3.1. The grammatical morphemes selected by the noun classes, have different realizations according to the phonetic features of the final segment of the lexical morpheme.

Thus the inflexion /i/ selected by class I 1 b is realized as [i] if in the final segment of the lexical morpheme there is a consonant; e.g. [a t r a i], [g u r i], [l o m p i]. The same thing takes place if the lexical morpheme belongs to class I 1 a or I 3 c and its final part is consonantal [b l a n i], [m i n k a r i].

Selected by a lexical morpheme from class I 3 a, /i/ is realized as :

[j] if the noun morpheme ends in a vowel [a k a d e -

a j]

[i] if the final segment of the morpheme is a consonant segment [k a r a r i]

Ø if the morpheme ends in /k' g , t' , dʒ /; /u r e k/

/u r i/ is always realized as [u r i] irrespective of

the final segment of the lexical morpheme: [b l a n u

r i].

2.3.3. /u/, selected by the lexical morphemes of class II is realized as the vowel /u/ if the morpheme ends in a liquid /l, r/ preceded by a consonant: [k o d r u], [m e m b r u]

- as the semivowel: [w] if the lexical morpheme ends in a vowel: [e r o w]

- as Ø, if the morpheme ends in a consonant (irrespective of the segment preceding the consonant), in a liquid preceded by a vowel or in a semivowel [p o m], [p a r], [p u j]

/i/ selected by the noun morphemes of class II is always realized as [i] because it is always preceded by a consonant which is not a liquid: [t a t s i].

/i/ selected by the lexical morphemes of class II 2 is realized as: [i] if the final segment of the morpheme is a group

consisting of a consonant followed by a liquid, irrespective of the phoneme preceding this group: [k o d r i]

[j] if the morpheme ends in a vowel: [e r o j]

[i] if the final segment of the morpheme is a consonantal segment different from /k, g, t/, dʒ/ or a liquid preceded by a vowel: [p o m i], [p e r i]

Ø if in the final segment of the morpheme there is one of the consonantal segments /k, g, t/, dʒ/ or a semivowel: [ok], [puj]

/i/ selected by a lexical morpheme of class II 3 is realized as: [i] if the morpheme ends in a consonant different from /k, g, t/, dʒ/ [k i j n i], [j e p u r i].

Ø, if the final segment of the morpheme is one of the consonants /k, g, t/, dʒ/ : [gavei]

2.3.3. /u/ as inflexion of the noun class III 1 a is realized as the vowel [u], if the final segment of the morpheme is represented by the group: "consonant+liquid", irrespective of the phoneme which precedes the group: [t g a t r u], [t e n t r u]

- as [w], if it is preceded by a vowel [f r i w]

- as Ø if it is preceded by a consonant proper, by a liquid in its turn preceded by a vowel, by a semivowel (all of them at the end of the lexical morpheme) : [k r e j o n], [kar], [kepe(ij)]

/u/ selected by a lexical morpheme of class III 1 a is realized as the vowel [u] : [k o n s i l j u]

/i/ selected by a morpheme of class III 1 c is realized as [j] ; the final vowel, /i/, of the lexical morpheme will remain [i], if the morpheme is characterized by the feature [+ Pl] : [k o n s i l i j]

2.3.4. Comparing the phonetic realization of the inflexions belonging to different classes we find that the variants of the

phonemes - inflexions do not depend on the noun class which selects them, but on the phonetical features of the final segment of the noun morphemes.

(a) /u/ is always realized:

- as a vowel if it is preceded by a group made up of a consonant proper followed by a liquid: membru, testu.

- as a semivowel, if it is preceded by a vowel: erou, frîu, birou.

- as Ø, if it is preceded by a semivowel, by a consonant proper or by a liquid, in its turn preceded by a vowel: pui, nom, păr, căpătii, creion, cer, cai, loc, dar.

- the only instance in which /u/ is differently realized according to the noun class is III l c.

Here /u/ remains vocalic and brings about the change of /i/ at the end of the lexical morpheme into a semivowel: consiliu.

(b) /i/ is always realized:

- as a vowel if at the end of the lexical morpheme, we come across in group "consonant proper + liquid" : membru.

- as a semivowel if the inflexion is preceded by a vowel (we also include here the nouns of class III l c which in the singular have a special treatment) : academi, eroi, consilii.

- as [i] if the final segment of the morpheme is a consonant different from /k, g, t/ , dʒ/ or a liquid preceded by a vowel: străsi, gări, pomi, peri.

- as Ø if the lexical morpheme ends in one of the consonants /k, g, t/ , dʒ/ or in a semivowel: urechi, echi, pui, acareci.

2.4. The relations between the lexical morphemes and the inflexion are established not only as shown under 2.3. (the influence of the lexical morpheme on the grammatical one) but also by the influence of the inflexion on the lexical morpheme.

A certain inflexion brings about vowel and consonant alter-

nations in the basic form of the lexical morpheme. We shall notice that the stress which always falls on the lexical morpheme and not on the inflexion does not change its position in course the inflexional system of noun, so that it does not affect at all the alternations which occur in the lexical basis.

There are very few nouns: rádio, zéro, which are characterized by a mobile stress: radióuri, zeróuri.

The alternations presented below will not be enlisted according to the classes the respective nouns belong to or the grammatical categories represented by the inflexion which brings about the alternation, because none of them influences the changes which occur in the basis.

The alternations are determined only by the phonetical features of the noun morphemes and by the phonetical features of the inflexional vowel. If an alternation is specific to a class this is due to the fact that it is only in that class that the phonetic conditions for the realization of the alternation exist. For instance the phonetic features of the inflexions belonging to class I 1 a do not allow the realization of the alternation /o/ ~ /oa/. The only exception is the alternation /a/ ~ /ə/ which is characteristic of the nouns of class I and is not to be found in other noun classes.

2.4.1. As the consonantal alternations are sometimes conditioned by the preceding phoneme as well, we shall also specify, where necessary, the segment to be found before the alternating consonant.

The alternations /t/ ~ /ts/ and /d/ ~ /z/ are always dominated by the inflexion /i/. They are realized when preceded by the consonants in Figure 10 and 11 or by any vowel.

The alternation /bd/ ~ /bz/ is considered possible because it is realized with verbs as well; with nouns it has the correspondent /pt/ ~ /pts/.

Alternation	Preceding segment	Examples
/t/~/ts/	l	volt ~ volți
	r	burătă ~ burți
	n	ferment ~ fermenti
	p	piept ~ piepti
	f	left ~ lefti
	k	arhitect ~ arhitecți

Figure 10

Alternation	Preceding segment	Examples
/d/~/s/	l	scald ~ scalsi
	r	guard ~ guarzi
	n	grindă ~ grinsi
	v	molivă ~ molivai

Figure 11

When preceded by /g/ at the end of a noun morpheme, /d/ is followed by /e/ and not by /i/ that is why the alternation /gd/~/gs/ has not been enlisted. Nevertheless we consider possible (cf. /kt/~/kts/). The alternations /t/~/ts/ and /d/~/s/ preceded by /m/ and /h/ have been also considered possible: /mt/~/mts/ occurs in adjectives.

In the material offered by the *Dictionarul limbii române moderne*, Bucharest 1958, we did not come across the instances : /md/~/1/ and /ht/~/1/. That is why the alternations /md/~/ms/, /ht/~/nts/ could not be enlisted. When preceded by /s, z, ʒ/ the alternations /t/~/ts/ and /d/~/s/ are never realized. In this case the final consonant groups followed by the inflexion /1/ have a special treatment.

Alternation	Preceding segment	Examples
/k/ ~ /t/ /	l	melc ~ melci
	r	erc ~ erce
	n	șuncă ~ șunci
	p	scripcă ~ scripci
	t	lotcă ~ lotci
	s	frescă ~ fresce

Figure 12

Alternation	Preceding segment	Examples
/g/ ~ /dʒ/	l	algă ~ alge
	r	vargă ~ vergi
	n	chingă ~ chingi

Figure 13

The alternations /k/ ~ /t/ and /g/ ~ /dʒ/ are dominated both by the inflexion /l/ and by /e/.

They are realized when preceded by any vowel. Besides the consonants indicated in Figure 12, 13, the alternation /k/ ~ /t/ preceded by /m, f/ and /g/ ~ /dʒ/ preceded by /v/ are realized at the end certain morphemes which do not belong to standard Romanian : sancă ~ sance, șofr ~ șofci, tivgă ~ tivgi. In formulating some general remarks, we shall consider these alternations as possible as well as /bg/ ~ /bdʒ/, /dg/ ~ /ddʒ/, /sg/ ~ /sdʒ/ which are not realized because the consonantal groups /bg/, /dg/, /sg/ do not appear in standard Romanian in the final segment of the morpheme. The alternation /sk/ ~ /st/ is to be found exclusively in the above example. The alternation /sk/ ~ /t/ is much more frequent.

Alternation	Preceding segment	Examples
/s/ ~ /ʃ/	r	urs ~ urşi
	n	ins ~ inşi
	p	mops ~ mopsi
	k	lux ~ luksi

Figure 14

Alternation	Preceding segment	Examples
/z/ ~ /ʒ/	l	bulz ~ bulji
	n	grunz ~ grunji

Figure 15

The alternations /s/ ~ /ʃ/ and /z/ ~ /ʒ/ always occur dominated by /l/ and are realized when preceded by any vowel. When preceded by other consonants than those in tables 14, 15, at the end of the morpheme /s/, /z/ either do not appear or, if they do they are not followed by /l/.

The alternations /st/ ~ /ʃt/ and /st/ ~ /ʒt/ are dominated by the inflexion /l/ and can be preceded by any vowel: oaste ~ oşti, astru ~ astri.

/sk/ ~ /ʃf/ and /k/ ~ /t/ are also realized when preceded by any vowel, with the difference that the dominating inflexion may be both /l/ and /e/; giscă ~ giste, nasă ~ năsti, puocă ~ pusti, rădăscă ~ rădăste.

The alternation /l/ ~ /ʃ/ dominated by the inflexion /l/ is realized in morphemes in which /l/ is preceded by a vowel. Most often these morphemes are non-neological: gal ~ gali. In the case of neological morphemes, the alternation is not realized, consul ~ consuli, bacil ~ bacili.

2.4.2. When examining the vocalic alternations in the basic

form, we find that they also are sometimes influenced not only by the features of the alternating phoneme and by the dominating inflexion vowel, but also by the phonic segment which precedes them. That is why below we shall group the vowel alternations both according to the alternating phonemes and, where necessary, according to the preceding phonemes.

Alternation	Preceding segment	Examples
/e/ ~ /ə/	p	peri ~ pār
	b	bețe ~ băț
	m	sere ~ măr
	v	veri ~ vâr

Figure 16

Alternation	Preceding segment	Examples
/i/ ~ /i/	m	morminte ~ mormint
	f	sfinți ~ sfint
	v	vine ~ vină

Figure 17

The above alternations are dominated by /ə/ or /u/ (the latter is realized as sere) and both of them are preceded by labials.

We considered as possible the alternation /e/ ~ /ə/ preceded by /f/ as well as /i/ ~ /i/ preceded by /p/ or /b/

Alternation	Preceding segment	Examples
/e/ ~ /ea/	t	teci ~ teacă
	d	pedepse ~ pedespa
	n	finețe ~ fineață
	ts	țepi ~ țeapă
	s	seri ~ seară
	z	semuri ~ seacă

l	lefuri ~ leafă
r	ferestre ~ fereastră

Figure 18

Alternation	Preceding segment	Examples
/e/ ~ /a/	p	pere ~ pară
	b	berse ~ berză
	m	mese ~ masă
	f	fete ~ fetă
	v	verse ~ varză
	ș	șetre ~ șatră
	j	jeli ~ jale
	t/	cete ~ centă
	d/	săgeți ~ săgeată
	k	ochene ~ ocheană
	g	ghete ~ gheață
	l	sinziană ~ sinziene

Figure 19

The above alternations are dominated by the inflexion /ə/.
None of them is realized when preceded by /k,g,h/.

Alternation	Preceding segment	Examples
/e/ ~ /ia/	o	poieni ~ poiană; toiege ~ toiaș
	ə	băieți ~ băiat

Figure 20

The group which is spelt ie in the above table (Fig.20) and in the examples below, preceded by a vowel or by a consonant which is not a labial, a diphthong according to some interpretations was considered as [e] preceded by an appendix, in the same position: [j] therefore phonologically /e/ (cf. M. Vasiliu, *Fonologia limbii române*, Bucharest, 1965, p.107).

The alternation /e/ ~ /ia/ is dominated by /ə/ and /u/ which in the examples above has turned into zero. When preceded by /u/

the alternation is realized in morphemes which do not belong to standard Romanian - : uiege ~ uiagă, buiestre ~ buiestră. It has been considered possible also when it is preceded by /a/ or /i/. In this context it is realized at the junction of the morphemes: odais ~ odais (phonologically /odae/~/odais/), tăiie ~ tăiis (phonologically /təiə/~/təiə + iə/).

The alternation is usually dominated by the inflexion /ə/. But there are situations in which the alternation /ə/~/iə/ is dominated by /u/ (cf. toieg, băiat).

The alternations in the figures 21 and 22 are dominated by /ə/ and /i/.

Alternation	Preceding segment	Examples
/ea/~/e/	p	canapea ~ canapele
	f	catifea ~ catifele
	t	buștea ~ bușteni
	d	acadea ~ acadele
	n	moșneag ~ moșnegi
	ts	țepă ~ țepi
	s	seamă ~ semeni
	l	măcăleandru ~ măcă- lendri
	r	mirean ~ mireni

Figure 21

Alternation	Preceding segment	Examples
/a/~/ə/	t]	cocan ~ coceni
	d]	geamă ~ gemeni
	k	lichea ~ lichele
	g	lighean ~ ligheane

Figure 22

The alternation /ea/~/e/ preceded by /b,m,v,h,z/ has been considered possible.

The alternation /o/ ~ /oa/ is realized both with the inflexion /ə/ (gcoală ~ gcoll) and with /e/ (vapor ~ vapoare), that is why we do not find it in class I 1 a where the inflexions are /ə/ and /e/ so that the diphthong forms occur both under $\begin{bmatrix} -Pl \\ +Dir \end{bmatrix}$ (/ə/) and under $\begin{bmatrix} -Pl \\ -Dir \end{bmatrix}$ or $\begin{bmatrix} +Pl \end{bmatrix}$ (/e/): nepoată ~ nepoate.

It may be preceded by any segment, therefore we shall not record the contexts in which it appears.

The alternation /a/ ~ /ə/ is dominated by the inflexion /i/ or /uri/ and may be preceded by any consonant other than /k, g, t, dʒ/. The presence of /ə/ after these consonants is out of the question. The alternation is specific to the nouns included in class I.

The alternation /t/ ~ /ti/ is realized only in mină ~ mini.

2.4.2. There are very few exceptions in the nouns flexion in Romanian!⁹

om ~ oameni
noră ~ nurori
soră ~ sorori

Starting from the data in Figure 9, the morpho-syntactic features [Fem], [Pl], [Dir] may be expressed by the following phonologic symbols:

I For	$\begin{bmatrix} - Fem \\ - Pl \\ \pm Dir \end{bmatrix}$	the adjective class 1,2,3,4,5 - selects /a/	-6	"	/e/
II For	$\begin{bmatrix} + Fem \\ - Pl \\ + Dir \end{bmatrix}$	the adjective class -1,2	selects /ə/	-3,5,6	"
			-4	"	ə

⁹ This may explain the difficulty of learning the much more numerous exceptions in the English inflexional system.

III	For	$\left[\begin{array}{c} + \text{ Fem} \\ \left[\begin{array}{c} - \text{ Pl} \\ - \text{ Dir} \\ + \text{ Pl} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$	the adjective class -1,3,6 selects /e/
			-2,5 " /i/
			-4 " /le/
IV	For	$\left[\begin{array}{c} - \text{ Fem} \\ + \text{ Pl} \\ + \text{ Dir} \end{array} \right]$	the adjective class 1,2,3,4,5 " /i/
			-6 " /e/

2.5.1. As in the case of nouns, the adjective inflexions are realized differently from the phonetical point of view, in accordance with the phonetic characteristics of the end of the lexical morphemes. Thus, the inflexion /u/ belonging to class 1, is realized:

- as a vowel, if the end of the adjective morpheme is made of a liquid preceded by a consonant: [a k r u];
- as a semivowel, if preceded by a vowel [p a n k i w];
- as Ø when the adjective morpheme ends in a consonant proper, irrespective of the phonic segment before it, in a liquid preceded by a vowel, or in a semivowel. That is why an adjective as dibaci or rotofei (ending in a semivowel) is also listed under class 1.

/ə/, an inflexion of class 1, is realized:

- as /e/ if at the end of the morpheme there is one of the consonants /k, g, t/, dʒ/, the vowel /i/ or the semivowel /j/:
- [p a n k i e], [r o t o f e j e].

- it is left unchanged in the other situations.

/i/, a plural inflexion of the adjectives of class 1, is realized:

- as a vowel, if it is preceded by a liquid, in its turn preceded by another consonant: [a k r i];
 - as a semivowel if it is preceded by a vowel [p a n k i j]
- [n o j];

- as a palatal appendix: /j/ of the last consonant of the lexical morpheme, if the inflexion is preceded by a flat conso-

nant or by a liquid, preceded in its turn by a vowel [b u n i];

- as Ø if it is preceded by one of the consonants [k, g, t], dʒ/ or by a semivowel [r o t o f e j] .

2.5.2. As an inflexion of the adjectives of class 2, /u/ has the following realizations:

- [w] , if it is preceded by a vowel: [a r dʒ i n t i w] ;

- Ø if it is preceded by a semivowel or by a consonant:

[g ə l b u j] , [n i k] , [v ə k] ;

/ə/ an inflexion of the adjectives of class 2, is realized as:

- [e] if it is preceded by one of the consonants /k, g, t/, dʒ/ by the vowel /i/ or by the semivowel /j/: /v ə k e/,

/a r dʒ i n t i e/, /g ə l b u j e/.

- [ə] in the other contexts.

/i/, plural inflexion of the adjectives of class 2, is realized as:

- [j] if it is preceded by a vowel: /a r dʒ i n t i j/

- [ɪ] if it is preceded by a non-palatal consonant. In the case of the adjectives of this class, the final consonant is always /k, g/, so that the inflexion determines the obligatory transformation of these consonants into /t/ , dʒ/. After this change [ɪ] becomes zero.

- Ø if it is preceded by the semivowel /j/ or by one of the consonants /k, g, t/, dʒ/ : [g ə l b u j] , [v ə k] .

2.5.3. As inflexion of the adjectives of class 3, /ə/ is realized:

- as a semivowel [w] if the adjective morpheme ends in a vowel: [m ə l i w]

- as Ø if the lexical morpheme ends in a consonant:

[s i l i t o r]

/i/, plural inflexion of the adjectives of class 3, is realized

- as a semivowel if there is a vowel at the end of the adjective [m o l i j]

- as [i] if the end of the morpheme is a consonant [a i l i t o r i].

The adjective morphemes which end in /x, g, t/ .dʒ/ or /j/ do not fall into this class therefore we shall not come across the Ø realization of the inflexion.

2.5.4. /u/ inflexion of the adjectives of class 4, is realized only as a semivowel, because the end of the lexical morpheme is always a vowel : [r ə w].

The masculine plural inflexion of this class, /i/ is also realized as a semivowel [j], / r ə j/.

2.5.5. The inflexion /i/, belonging to class 5 is realized as /j/ preceded by a consonant different from /x, g, t/ .dʒ/ : [v e r i].

2.5.6. As with nouns we notice that the different realization of the inflexion phonemes is not conditioned by the adjective class, but by the phonetic features of the end of the lexical morpheme which selects the inflexion.

If the allophones of an inflexion are not to be found in all the class where it appears, this is due to the fact that in a certain class there may be lexical morphemes whose final segments permit all the possibilities for the realization of the inflexion.

For instance /u/, inflexion of class 4, is exclusively realized as [w] and not as /u/ or Ø because in this class no lexical morpheme ends in a liquid preceded by a consonant and in a consonant or a semivowel respectively. From the facts mentioned under 2.5.1 - 2.5.6, it follows that:

(a) /u/ as adjective inflexion, is realized as:

- [u] if the ending of the morpheme is a consonantal group, made up of a liquid preceded by another consonant.
- [w] if the ending of the morpheme is a vowel
- Ø if the morpheme ends in a consonant proper irrespective of the preceding phonic segment, in a liquid preceded by a vowel or in a semivowel.

(b) /i/, as inflexion, is realized as:

- [i] if it is preceded by a group made of "a consonant + a liquid"
- [j] if it is preceded by a vowel
- [ɨ] if at the end of the lexical morpheme there is a flat consonant or a liquid preceded by a vowel.
- Ø if the inflexion is preceded by a palatal consonant or a consonant which has become palatal in the course of flexion ([m i k] → [m i t]) or by a semivowel.

(c) /ə/ adjective inflexion, is realized as:

- [ə] if the end of the lexical morpheme is represented by a consonant /k, g, t/, dʒ/, by the vowel /i/ or by the semivowel /j/.
- [ə] in the other positions.

2.5.7. The fact that the noun inflexions have a certain realisation exclusively in accordance with the phonetic features of the end of the lexical morpheme and not with its syntactic features is confirmed also when comparing the treatments of the noun and adjective inflexions.

The conclusions under 2.5.6., concerning the adjective inflexions fully agree with those referring to the noun inflexions.

2.6. In the case of the adjective morphemes there are also vocalic and consonantal alternations in the course of inflexion under the influence of the phonetic features of the inflexion. In

the same way as the different realizations of the inflexions are not conditioned by the class which selects them, the alternations are produced, irrespective of the flexion class to which the lexical morpheme belongs and of the syntactical features which the inflexion represents. That is why we shall group the alternations exclusively according to the alternating phonemes and to those determining the alternation, and where necessary according to the phonio segments preceding the alternation.

2.6.1. The consonant alternations are sometimes conditioned, as with nouns not only by the features of the consonant or of the alternating consonant group and by the inflexion vowel, but also by the segment preceding them. That is why we shall group below the alternations both according to the affected phonemes and to the preceding segments.

Alternation	Preceding segment	E x a m p l e s
/t/~/ts/	l	inalt ~ inalți
	r	scurt ~ scurti
	n	aparent ~ aparenți
	p	drept ~ drepti
	m	strim ~ strinți
	k	compact ~ compacti

Figure 23

Alternation	Preceding segment	E x a m p l e s
/d/~/z/	l	cald ~ calzi
	r	surd ~ surzi
	n	sound ~ soundi

Figure 24

The alternations above are dominated by the inflexion /i/ and never by /e/. They are preceded by any vowel and by the consonants in the figures 23 and 24. The alternation /t/~/ts/ preceded by /f/

is realized in nouns, similarly /d/~/z/ preceded by /v/. We considered these situations possible with adjectives too. They are not realized because we have no adjective morphemes ending in /ft/, /vd/ followed by the inflexion /i/. The same thing can be said also about the groups /bd/, /gd/, /md/, /ht/ and that is why in these situations the possibility of the alternations is not excluded. The only consonants which require a special treatment of the final consonants /t,d/ followed by the inflexion /i/ are /s,z/, /j,ʒ/.

The alternation /k/~/tʃ/ dominated both by /e/ and by /i/ appears preceded by any vowel and by the consonant /n/ (adinc ~ adinci). The same vowels dominate the alternation /g/~/dʒ/ preceded by any vowel, by the consonant /n/ (sting ~ stingi) or /r/ (larg ~ largi).

If the group /sk/ is at the end of morpheme, followed by the inflexion /i/ or /e/ it has different treatments changing into /stʃ/ or more frequently into /ʃ/: flasc ~ flasce, flasci, brusc ~ bruste, brusti. Preceded by other consonants /k,g/ do not appear at the end of the adjective morphemes. As in nouns /k/-/tʃ/, /g/-/dʒ/ are realized even if before them there are other consonants than /s,z/ in these contexts, we shall consider possible the alternations, in adjectives too.

The alternations in the following figures, 25 and 26, are dominated by /i/. They may be preceded by any vowel

Alternation	Preceding segment	Examples
/s/~/ʃ/	l	fals ~ falʃi
	r	ars ~ arʃi
	n	lins ~ linʃi
	k	ortodox ~ ortodocʃi

Figure 25

Alternation	Preceding segment	Examples
/z/~/ʒ/	r	dirz ~ dirʒi

Figure 26

We considered these alternations preceded by other consonantal segments than those above possible because in the investigated corpus we have not come across situations in which the phonemes /s, z/, having another consonant before and immediately followed by the inflexion /i/ should have a special régime.

The groups /st/ and /str/ to be found at the end of the morpheme and followed by the inflexion /i/ alternate with /ʃt/ or /ʃtr/ respectively.

They may be preceded by any vowel (robust ~ robusti, albastu ~ albastri). The alternation /st/~/ʃt/ is realized also preceded by /k/ (nixt ~ nixti). Unlike nouns, the alternation /ʃk/~/ʃt/ does not appear in adjectives. We come across the alternation /sk/~/ʃt/ in the same conditions as in nouns i.e. preceded by any vowel and immediately followed by one of the inflexions /e/ or /i/ (brusc ~ brusti, bruste).

Specific to the non-neologic adjectives is the alternation /l/~/ʃ immediately followed by the inflexion /i/ (sätul ~ sätui) but not in (util ~ utili).

Comparing the above consonant alternations with those in nouns, we find that they are all realized at the end of the lexical morphemes, are dominated by the same inflexions and are most often preceded by the same segments. Between the inventory of alternations under 2.4.1. and the one under 2.6.1. the only difference is the lack of the alternation /ʃ/~/ʃt/ in the latter.

2.6.2. The vowel alternations may be grouped like the consonant ones according to the alternating phonemes and where neces-

ary according to the preceding phonemes.

We mention that in the course of inflexion the stress always falls the lexical morpheme and does not change its position.

Alternation	Preceding segment	Examples
/e/~/ə/	p	proaspăt ~ proaspeți
	m	geamăn(ă) ~ geneți
	v	adrevăn(ă) ~ adreveni
	n	tinăr(ă) ~ tineri

Figure 27

Alternation	Preceding segment	Examples
/i/~/î/	v	vinat(ă) ~ vineți
	t	tinăr(ă) ~ tineri

Figure 28

The alternations /e/~/ə/, /i/~/î/ dominated, as in nouns by /ə/ and /u/, differ from the latter by the fact that they are preceded not only by labials but also the former by /n/, the latter by /t/.

The alternations in figures 29 and 30 are dominated by /ə/. We do not come across the alternation /e/~/ə/ preceded by labials in adjectives.

As we have not found counterexamples in our corpus, we have considered that this alternation preceded by labial is possible too, by analogy with the situation of the noun morphemes.

Similarly, we have considered possible the alternation /e/~/es/ preceded by /ts/ and /s/.

Alternation	Preceding segment	Examples
/e/~/ea/	t	șterea ~ ștearsă
	d	deș ~ deasă
	n	negru ~ neagră
	s	sevesec ~ sevesecă
	l	înțelept ~ înțeleaptă
	r	întreg ~ întregă

Figure 29

Alternation	Preceding segment	Examples
/e/~/a/	}	deșert ~ deșartă
	t }	încet ~ înceată
	i	biet ~ biată

Figure 30

The alternation /e/~/ia/ dominated by the inflexion /ə/ is realized preceded by /u/ (buiestru ~ buiastră) or by /ə/ (măiestru ~ măiastră). The lack of counter - examples entitles us to consider the alternation preceded by other vowels possible.

Alternation	Preceding segment	Examples
/ea/~/e/	v	lipovean ~ lipoveni
	t	viteaz ~ viteji, vitere
	ta	țespân ~ țepeni, e
	s	searbăd ~ serbesi, -de
	l	viclean ~ vicleni, e
	r	reavân ~ reveni, e

Figure 31

Alternation	Preceding segment	Examples
/a/~/e/	d }	geană ~ geneni, e

Figure 32

The above alternations are dominated by the inflexions /e,i/.

Preceded by /k, g, t/ the alternation /a/~e/ may be considered possible. Similarly /ea/~e/ preceded by any labial and by /d,n,z/.

The alternation /o/~oa/ dominated by /ə/ or /e/ is realized irrespective of the preceding segment.

2.6.3. Comparing the above mentioned vowel alternations with those enlisted with the nominal inflexional system, we come to the conclusion that /a/~ə/ is not realized with adjectives.

Similarly, the contexts (i.e. the preceding segments) where the alternations of the adjectives occur are less varied than with the noun. The identical treatment of the vowels affected by the alternations in identical conditions with both nouns and adjectives makes it possible to consider the realization of some alternations with the adjectives even though they have not been dealt with in the present paper.

3. With nouns as well as with adjectives the category of determiners is expressed by the article. Being more often than not¹⁰ enclitic and (like the inflexional morphemes) linked to the word, the article brings about changes in the nominal inflexional system and may be in its turn changed by the phonological structure of the lexical morpheme. As a starting point for Romanian we shall take the following paradigm of the article (cf. Figure 33) :

Gender	Case	[-Pl]	[+Pl]
[- Fem]	[- Dir]	l,le	i
	[- Dir]	lui	lor
[+ Fem]	[+ Dir]	a	le
	[- Dir]	i	lor

Figure 33

10 We mentioned "more often than not" because of the different treatment undergone by the masculine nouns (continuation)

The nouns characterised by [-Gen.] and, implicitly the adjectives which determine them select for the singular the specific forms of the nouns marked as [+Fem].

Considering the basic forms of the article:

- l	for	$\begin{bmatrix} - \text{Fem} \\ \pm \text{Pl} \end{bmatrix}$	and	$\begin{bmatrix} + \text{Fem} \\ + \text{Pl} \end{bmatrix}$
a	for	$\begin{bmatrix} + \text{Fem} \\ - \text{Pl} \\ + \text{Dir} \end{bmatrix}$		
i	for	$\begin{bmatrix} + \text{Fem} \\ - \text{Pl} \\ - \text{Dir} \end{bmatrix}$		

it follows that the inflexional morphemes are to be added according to the rules:

- I For $\begin{bmatrix} - \text{Fem} \\ - \text{Pl} \\ + \text{Dir} \end{bmatrix}$ the morpheme-/u/ is selected, if l is preceded by inflexional /u/
-/e/ if l is preceded by inflexional /e/
- II For $\begin{bmatrix} - \text{Fem} \\ - \text{Pl} \\ - \text{Dir} \end{bmatrix}$ The inflexional morpheme is /ui/
- III For $\begin{bmatrix} + \text{Fem} \\ - \text{Pl} \end{bmatrix}$ the inflexional morpheme is #
- IV For $\begin{bmatrix} + \text{Pl} \\ - \text{Dir} \end{bmatrix}$ " " " is /or/
- V For $\begin{bmatrix} - \text{Fem} \\ + \text{Pl} \\ + \text{Dir} \end{bmatrix}$ " " " is /l/
- VI For $\begin{bmatrix} + \text{Fem} \\ + \text{Pl} \\ + \text{Dir} \end{bmatrix}$ " " " is /e/

(continuation page 37)

belonging to "personal gender" (cf. in English the 's genitive).

With the exception of the article for feminine nouns singular whose basic form denotes both the category of determination and the categories of gender, number and case, in all the other cases the basic form signifies the category of determination whereas the categories of gender, number and case of the article are marked by the inflexional morpheme.

3.1. Through the adding of the article the conclusions reached before with respect to the realization of noun and adjective inflexions in certain phonetic contexts undergo the following modifications:

/u/, inflexion, realizes always as a vowel if it is followed by the article

/i/, inflexion, realizes as a vowel, just like /u/ in /uri/, inflexion, when it is followed by the article, triggering in its turn changes in the phonetic realization of the article.

/ə/, inflexion, becomes ø if it is followed by the article

/e/, inflexion (or obtained by the change of the basic form of the inflexion / / into e in a certain phonetic context) turns into a semivowel if followed by the article /a/.

3.2. The influence of the inflexion on the article may be traced when the latter is /i/ or is realized as /i/. Thus, the

article /i/ $\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ Fem} \\ - \text{ Pl} \\ - \text{ Dir} \end{array} \right]$ turns into ø if the inflexion of the determined noun or adjective is /i/ (strási [s/ræsi]), or into a semivowel if the inflexion is /e/ (cassé [kæse]). If the article is /li/, realized as [i], it turns into ø when the preceding inflexion is /i/ (e.g. [kopil] + [i] + [li] [kopi] + [i] + [i] [kopil]).

4. Taking into account the conclusions reached so far we can set up the following inflexional rules with nouns and adjectives.

tives in Romanian:

1. $\left. \begin{array}{l} /t/ \rightarrow /ts/ \\ /d/ \rightarrow /z/ \end{array} \right\}$ in the context: any cons. other than /s, ʃ/ +
/ɪ/ inflexion.
2. $/k, g/ \rightarrow /t/$, $dʒ/$ in the context: any cons. other than
/s, ʃ/ — + /e, i/ infl.
3. $/s, z/ \rightarrow /ʃ, ʒ/$ in the context: $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} + /ɪ/ \text{ inflexion} \\ - /t/ /r/ + /ɪ/ \text{ infl.} \end{array} \right.$
4. $/sk/ \rightarrow /t/$ in the context: — + /e, i/ inflexion
5. $/l/ \rightarrow \emptyset$ in the context: — Noun + /ɪ/ inflexion
Adj.
Article
6. $/a/ \rightarrow /ə/$ in the context $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{Noun} \\ \text{cl I} \end{array} \right]$... + ... /ɪ/ inflexion
7. $/ə/ \rightarrow /e/$ " " " $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} /ɪ/ \\ /t/ , dʒ/ \end{array} \right\}$ + — inflexion
8. $\emptyset \rightarrow /a/$ in the context: /é, ô/ — ... + /ə, e/ inflexion
9. $/e/ \rightarrow /ə/$ in the context: /p, b, m, f, v/ — ... + /ə, u/ inflexion
10. stressed vowel → unstressed in the cont.: — stressed vowel
c) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{— vowel} \end{array} \right\}$ same morpheme
11. palatal cons. /s/ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{cons. (other than} \\ \text{palatal) /ea} \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow$ cons. /e/ in the context: — ... + ... /e, i/ infl.
12. $/i, u/ \rightarrow /j, w/$ in the contexts: a) vowel — $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} + \text{ gram. morpheme} \\ \emptyset \end{array} \right.$
b) vowel
 $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{cons other than /l, r/} \\ \text{vowel + (l, r)} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} + \text{-inflexion} \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{Noun other} \\ \text{than class III} \\ - \text{Pl} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right.$
13. $/e/ \rightarrow \emptyset$ in the context: a) palatal cons. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{b) /ɪ/ or /j/} \end{array} \right\}$ — vowel
14. $/e/ \rightarrow /ɪ/$ in the context: vowel (exception 13b) — /a/
15. $/ə/ \rightarrow \emptyset$ " " " : /a/
16. $/ə, e/ \rightarrow /ə, e/$ in the context: — vowel

17. /ɪ / → /j/ in the context: vowel —
18. /ɪ, u/ → [ɪ, ʊ] in the context: vowel /l, r/ } — #
cons.
/ɪ, j/
19. [ʊ] → ∅ in the context: — #
20. [ɪ] → ∅ " " " : /k, g, t/, dʒ/ } — #
/ɪ, j/

5. Whereas the nominal inflexion in Romanian requires the setting up of a relatively great number of classes and subclasses because of the various aspects of the nominal paradigma, in English there is a much simpler nominal paradigma.

5.1. The setting up of nominal inflexional classes in English proves to be a futile attempt. The grammatical morphemes selected by each lexical morpheme are determined exclusively on phonetic grounds. The phonetic features of the ending of the lexical formative triggers the selection of one or the other of the forms belonging to the grammatical morphemes which designate the categories: [± Pl], [± Dir.¹¹].

5.2. Adjectives in English just like nouns do not require the setting up of inflexional classes. The only grammatical category expressed by suffixes which could bring about the modification of the basic form of the lexical morpheme is the category of comparison. The selection of this possibility - the synthetical one - or of the analytical possibility is dictated by the phonetic structure of the adjective.¹²

11 Different from Romanian, the only causal relation expressed by a suffix in English is the relation of possession. So the morphophonemic aspect of the inflexion (-Dir) represents in fact (+Pos).

12 This is one of the instances discussed by A. Zwicky in Phonological Constraints in Syntactic Descriptions, Papers in Linguistics, I, 1969, No. 3 to illustrate the influence of phonology upon syntax. The author considers that (continuation)

5.3. The grammatical morphemes selected by the nominal lexical formatives in English are the following:

- I. For $\begin{bmatrix} +Pl \\ +Dir \end{bmatrix}$ the grammatical morpheme can be [z], [ɪ], [ɪz]
- II. For $\begin{bmatrix} +Pl \\ -Dir \end{bmatrix}$ the grammatical morpheme can be [z], [ɪ], [ɪz]

We mentioned first the plural morphemes because in order to synthetically express the relation of possession the grammatical morpheme is added to the plural form of the noun.

5.3.1. The lexical formatives select one of the above mentioned forms depending of the phonetic features of the final segments. The rules of selecting one of the forms of the grammatical morphemes for plural or genitive are the following:

- I For $\begin{bmatrix} +Pl \\ +Dir \end{bmatrix}$ the forms are
 $\begin{bmatrix} +Pl \\ -Dir \end{bmatrix}$ selected:
- | | |
|----|---|
| a) | is in the cont./s, ʒ, ʃ, t, dʒ/ |
| b) | s " " " voiceless cons.
(except.(a)) |
| c) | s " " " voiced cons.
(except.(b))
vowel |

5.3.2. A relatively large number of nouns compared with similar cases in Romanian form the plural according to rules other than the rules under 5.3. We will not call them exceptions because in their turn they present certain regularities which allow for their grouping in four classes:

- I. The nouns which select a ɪ grammatical morpheme having an identical form for both plural and singular: fish, sheep, deer.

(continuation page 41)

ignoring this aspect as well as by theorizing about the relation between phonology and syntax exclusively as the influence of syntax upon phonology is a serious shortcoming of generative grammars. Evidently a grammar of Romanian cannot but deal with this particular side of the relation between phonology and syntax, whereas in English there is a possibility of study the reciprocal influence of the two domains.

II. The nouns which end in a voiceless consonant in the singular, voice the final segment in the plural and then selects one of the forms of the grammatical morpheme according with the rule 1-(a) or (c). Therefore, if the final segment is a voiceless sibilant it turns into a voiced sibilant and selects the plural morpheme [ɪz] : house ~ houses : [haus] ~ [haʊzɪz]. If the final segment is a voiceless consonant different from [s, ʃ, t], it becomes voiced and implicitly the grammatical morpheme for the plural is [z] : wife ~ wives [waɪf] ~ [waɪvz], wreath ~ wreaths : [rɪʃ] ~ [rɪʃz].

These two possibilities of forming the plural can be expressed by two rules with a restricted area of applicability:

1. [+ Pl] → ∅
2. [-Voiced] → [+ Voiced] in the context — + [+ Pl]¹³

III. Unlike class I and II which represent each a specific possibility of forming the plural even though not very different from the general rules in English, there is a third class of lexical formatives which have as plural the form from the language of origin - Greek or Latin: alumnus ~ alumni [ˈalʌmənz] [ˈalʌməni] criterion ~ criteria [kraɪtɪrɪən] [kraɪtɪrɪə].¹⁴

IV. In the last class we introduce the lexical formatives which change their basic form, adding or not a grammatical suffix without respecting any rules. These are the "exceptions": ox ~ oxen, child ~ children, man ~ men, woman ~ women. Very frequently the lexical formatives under I, II, III are considered irregular too, thus enlarging the category of exceptions on no grounds what so ever.

¹³ In a transformational grammar these rules would make up the category of "minor rules" for which the formatives are conventionally marked.

¹⁴ According to the frequency of these nouns, a grammar of English could group the rules of forming the plural from Latin and Greek under the head of "minor rules".

5.3.3. Even though the nominal inflexional system is characterized by the same morphemes for forming both the plural and the genitive as shown under 5.3.1., the rules for forming the genitive are much simpler. Whereas for expressing the plural we need besides the general rules shown under 5.3.1.

(a) minor rules

(b) categories of nouns forming the plural according to the rule in the language of origin.

(c) nouns forming the plural irregularly,

in order to express the genitive the rule under 5.3.1. can apply to all nouns which form the genitive synthetically, both in the singular and the plural. It follows that even though a noun belongs to the category of "exceptions", in order to express the genitive it selects one of the three forms of the morpheme $\begin{bmatrix} \pm \text{Pl} \\ + \text{Dir} \end{bmatrix}$, depending on the phonetic features of the final segment.

5.4. In English the degrees of comparison are expressed either analytically or synthetically. The option for either of the possibilities is done according to the phonic characteristics of the lexical morpheme.

5.4.1. The monosyllabic adjectival formatives form the degrees of comparison as a rule synthetically. The suffixes selected are:

(a) for the comparative /er/

(b) for the superlative /est/

Nonetheless some monosyllabic adjectives form the comparative and the superlative both synthetically and analytically. A list of the relatively frequently used monosyllabic adjectives is given in Palmer and Blandford, A Grammar of Spoken English, Heffer, Cambridge, 1959, pp.85-87. We select from this list the adjectives which very frequently form the degrees of comparison analytically: drunk, fit, fond, frank, free, glad, graw, huge, oalm, keen, cross, mild, old, pale, plane, prompt, sound, scarce, true, vague.

5.4.2. Certain bisyllabic adjectives sometimes form the degrees of comparison analytically. The reason being more often than not phonetical we will not consider them exceptions. The phonetic conditions in which the bisyllabic adjectives form the degrees of comparison synthetically are the following:

[comparative] is rewritten as /ɪr/	} in the context	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} /o/ \\ /ɪ/ \dots \\ /r/ \end{array} \right.$
[superlative] is rewritten as /ɪst/		
		vowel..

There are some bisyllabic adjectives which form the degrees of comparison synthetically irrespective of the conditions stated above:¹⁵ common, pleasant, polite, precise, wicked.

Even though there are exceptions from the rule stated under 5.4.2. (a,b), they are not exceptions from the general rule of expressing the degrees of comparison synthetically because of the suffixes they select. The following adjectives form the degrees of comparison by changing the stem: bad, far, good, ill, right, wrong, well.

5.4.3. The only modification of the basic form of the adjective during its inflexion is expressed by the following rule:

$$p \rightarrow p' \text{ in the context: } - + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} /ɪr/ \\ /ɪst/ \end{array} \right.$$

6. Comparing the nominal inflexional system in Romanian and English we come across fundamental differences due to the predominantly synthetic character of Romanian as opposed to the predominantly analytic character of English.

The inflexional system in Romanian is characterized by a relatively great number of modifications in the basic form expressed by the rules 1-20. In Romanian the number of exceptions is much smaller.

¹⁵ Their analytic forms for the comparative are also attested.

In English the nominal inflexional system without very often triggering changes in the basic form contains a large number of exceptions. The regularity of the Romanian inflexional system may produce a tendency "to regularize" the English inflexional system during the first stages of its acquisition. Similarly, the absence of minor rules in Romanian may generate a tendency of treating all nominal lexical formatives according to the most general inflexional rules in English.

7. Just like the nominal inflexional system, the verbal inflexional system in Romanian is characterized by relatively numerous changes in the basic forms under the influence of grammatical morphemes.

7.1. The inflexional classes according to which the verbs are grouped taking into account the grammatical morphemes of the infinitive, present, perfect, imperfect and gerund are shown in Figure 34.¹⁶

Class	Inf.	Indic. and Conj. pres.	Perf.	Imperf.	Gerund	Homonym Infl.	Examples
1 a	á	á	á	é	índ	3-6	cínte
b	á	á éz	á	á	índ	3-6	lucra
							coborí
2 a	í	í	í	qá	índ	3-6	spriiíni
b	í	í	í	qá	índ	1-6	sári
c	í	í ésc	í	qá	índ	1-6	hotári, citi
3	qá	é	ú	qá	índ	1-6	párea
4 a	e	2	ú	qá	índ	1-6	íncepe
b	e	e	se	qá	índ	1-6	prinde

Figure 34

16 For the argumentation of this classification of Anca Belchiță, Flexiunea verbală în gramatica transformatională a limbii române, Studii și cercetări lingvistice, 2, 1970, pp.173-176.

7.2. According to the verbal class and to the features of mood, tense and person¹⁷ the lexical formatives select the following grammatical morphemes:

- I. For present indicative they select the inflexion /a/ in
the context VI,3,4
conjunctive they select the inflexion /i/ in
the context V 2
- II. For imperfect they select the inflexion /a/ in the cont.V 1
/ea/ in the cont.V 2,3,4
- III. For participle they select the inflexion Ø in the cont.V 4b
- IV. For perfect they select the inflexion /a/ in the cont. V 1
/i/ " " " V 2
/u/ " " " V 3,4a
/se/ " " " V 4b
- V. For "mai mult ca perfect" they select the inflexion /se/
in the cont. perfect
- VI. For infinitive they select the inflexion /a/ in the cont.V 1
/i/ " " " V 2
/ea/ " " " V 3
/e/ " " " V 4
- VII. For gerund they select the inflexion /ind/ in the cont.V 2
/and/ " " " V 1,3,4

After selecting the morpheme denoting the mood and the tense, the one denoting the person is selected as follows:

- [illegible]

17 We write P1 for first person singular, P2 for second person
eg., P3 for third person eg., P4 for first person plural, etc.

- IV P2 is rewritten: by rule II in the context $V_1 + \text{Imperative}$ ---
by rule III " " " $V_t + \text{Imperative}$ ---
- V P4 is rewritten as /a/ in the context: Present ---
- VI P5 is rewritten as /taj/ in the context: Mood and Tense---
- VII P6 is rewritten with the specific inflexion for:
- P3 in the context: V 1,2a + Pres.Ind. ---
- Pl " " " V 2b,c,3,4 + Pres.Ind.---
- VIII P3,6 is rewritten as /a/ in the context: V 1+Conjunctive---
/a/ " " " : V 2,3,4+Conjunc.---
- IX Pl,4 is rewritten as /a/ in the context: Imperfect---
- X P2 is rewritten as /i/ in the context: Imperfect---
- XI P3 is rewritten as ø in the context: Imperfect---
- XII P6 is rewritten as /u/ in the context: Imperfect---
- XIII Pl,2,3, is rewritten as ø in the context: Perfect---
- XIV P4,5,6 is rewritten as /ra/ in the context: Perfect---
- XV Pl is rewritten as: /i/ in the context: Perfect simple---
/a/ in the context: Mai mult ca perfect---
fect---
- XVI P4 is rewritten as /a/ in the context: Perfect (ordered
after XIV)---
- XVII P2 is rewritten as /ji/ in the context: Perfect---
- XVIII P3 is rewritten as ø in the context: Perfect---
- XIX Participle is rewritten as /t/ in the context:
V 1,2,3,4a + Perfect---
is rewritten as /a/ in the context:
V 4b + Perfect---

7.2.1. The grammatical formatives introduced by the above stated rules have different realizations depending on the phonetic context where they appear. The morphemes denoting the mood and the tense have the following variants phonetically conditioned by the lexical formative which selects them: -/a/ suffix, for present or

perfect realizes as /e/ if preceded by /e, i/ or /k, g, tʃ, dʒ/ (unalternating): noi cîntăm ~ noi (ne) a. cîntăm, el cîntă ~ el îngemănă.

- /i/, morpheme for present, perfect and infinitive, preceded by /r/ turns into /i/ provided the lexical morpheme belongs to 2a, c. The verbs belonging to the classes which do not undergo the change are: scoperi, oferi, suferi, opri, spori, sori.

- in the same conditions like the ones stated above (with the same exceptions) the suffix /eak/ characteristic of the verbs in class 2c turns into /ɔak/

- /ɔa/, suffix for imperfect realizes as:

- /a/ if the verb belongs to the subclass 2a or 2c and ends in /r/ (the exceptions for the realization of /i/ are valid too): brîncea ~ coba-
ra

- if the verb irrespective of the class ends in /k, g/ alternating with /tʃ, dʒ/: oădean ~ du-
ocean

- /je/ preceded by a vowel: prînea ~ biruis

- /ɔa/, in the remaining situations

7.2.2. The grammatical morphemes denoting the person have certain phonetic realizations determined by the preceding suffix for mood and tense or, if this is Ø, by the lexical formative to which they are attached.

a.- The inflexion /u/, representing the first person singular or the third person plural realizes as:

- vowel /u/, preceded by two liquid consonants or by the group "mute cum liquida": urlu, aflu.

- semivowel, if preceded by a vowel: soriu, oiteau

- Ø, preceded by any consonant or consonant group with the exception of the consonants mentioned before: cînt, lucres

- b.- /i/, inflexion of the first or second person or part of the inflexion of the first or second person, realizes as:
- /i/, preceded by a group made up of two liquid consonants or by the "muta cum liquida": urli, afli.
 - /j/, if the preceding segment is a vowel: dei, meresi, (tu) cautei
 - /ɨ/, preceded by a consonant or a consonant group other than the ones mentioned above: lucresi, cintati.
 - ʃ if preceded by /k, g, t/, dʒ/ (in the basic form or alternating), or by the semivowel /j/: mergi, mingii.
- c.- The inflexion /ə/ realizes as /ɐ/ in all situations, with the exception of the cases when it is preceded by /k, g/, by /i/ or /j/: (el) ingenunche, apropie, mingie.
- d.- The vowel /a/ realizes as /ɐ/ if it is conditioned morphologically and not phonologically, i.e., if it represents the suffix for present, indicative or conjunctive and is followed by the inflexion of the third person singular: lăsați ~ lăsați, lăsați ~ lăsați.

7.2.3. The grammatical formatives of mood, tense and person influence the phonetic aspect of the ending of the lexical formative. The morpheme /se/, representing the suffix of perfect for verbs in subclass 4b and /a/ suffix of participle, trigger the alternation of the final consonant of the basic verb form with ʃ : duc - duceți.

The ending of the lexical formative changes as follows:

- a.- If the grammatical suffix starts with /e, i/, /k, g/ they turn into /t/, dʒ/ : fug ~ fugi ~ fugeam.
- b.- /d/ alternates with /z/ and /t/ with /ts/ if:
- they are followed by the suffix /se/ and the verb belongs to subclass 2b: aud ~ auseam, sint ~ sinteam. We should underline here that /e/ must be part of the suffix /se/.

Otherwise, as an inflexion /e/ does not trigger the alternation:
sinte, aude.

- /d/ represents the ending of a verb belonging to the classes 3, 4; it turns into /a/ when the verb in class 3 is followed by a suffix of the perfect or the verb in classes 3 or 4 is followed by the suffix of the gerund: vād - vāsiad, cupriad - cupriasiad.
- /t/ is followed by the suffix /and/ and belongs to the subclass 4b: scote - scotiad.
- c. /s/ as the ending of the verbal morpheme followed by /i/ inflexion of the second person singular or part of the suffix of perfect, infinitive, participle or gerund realizes as /ʃ/ : ies - iesi - iesi - iesiam. The following constraint is necessary: the verb whose basic form ends in /s/ should not belong to class 2: soai.
- d. The consonant groups /sk/ and /k/ have identical treatment when followed by /e, i/: /ʃt/ : cupnos - cupnosti - cupnosce, impus - impusti - impuste.
- e. The treatment of the nasal /n/ is verb specific: when it is followed by the inflexion /i/ the consonant turns into #¹⁸: ri-
min - riai.

7.2.4. The influence of the grammatical formatives on lexical formatives and of the morphemes denoting the person of those denoting the mood and the tense becomes evident not only in conjunction but also when they are far apart. A certain inflexion triggers a series of vowel alternations in the basic verb form or in the suffix of mood and tense:

- a. Irrespective of the preceding phoneme, stressed /o/ al-

¹⁸ Some dialectal forms account for the identical behavior of /r/: cer - cei.

ternates with the diphthong /pə/, if the inflexion is /ə/ or /e/:
coe - coase - să coasă.

b. Stressed /e/ alternates with /ǣ/ or /ǣ/ depending on the preceding phonetic context, if the inflexion is /ə/.

c. Stressed or unstressed /e/ alternates with /ǣ/, conditioned by the presence of the vowels /e/ or /ǣ/ in the following grammatical morpheme.

Preced. segm.	Infl.	Alternation /e/ ~ /ǣ/	Alternation /e/ ~ /ǣ/
p	ǣ	-	speli ~ spellǣ
b	ǣ	-	inbeți ~ inbatǣ
m	ǣ	mergi ~ meargǣ	-
f	ǣ	-	-
v	ǣ	-	inveți ~ invetǣ
ʃ	ǣ	-	șed ~ (ǣ) șadǣ
ʒ	ǣ	-	-
tʃ	ǣ	-	cerni ~ (ǣ) cearnǣ
dʒ	ǣ	-	geți ~ (ǣ) geatǣ
k	ǣ	-	cheți ~ cheatǣ
g	ǣ	-	ingheți ~ ingheatǣ
k	ǣ	-	-
g	ǣ	-	-
h	ǣ	-	-
t	ǣ	aștepti ~ așteptǣ	-
d	ǣ	indemni ~ indemǣ	-
n	ǣ	ineci ~ inecǣ	-
te	ǣ	înțepi ~ înțepǣ	-
s	ǣ	semeni ~ seamǣ	-
z	ǣ	-	-
l	ǣ	legi ~ leagǣ	-
r	ǣ	cred ~ credǣ	-
i	ǣ	-	fierbi ~ (ǣ) fierbǣ

Figure 35

Figure 36 shows the conditioning of alternation by the preceding segment: it can be only one of the labials /p, b, m, f, v/.

Pre ed. sega.	Infl.	Alternation , ' ~ / ~ /
p	u, a	speli ~ spāl, spālst
b	u, a	-
m	u, a	semeni ~ semān, semāns
f	u, a	sufəri ~ sufār
v	u, a	inveti ~ invāt, invātām

Figure 36

The alternation /i/ ~ /t/ in the same context¹⁹ is parallel to the one mentioned above.

d. The changes of stress in the basic form due to a stressed grammatical affix triggers certain alternations:

- stressed /o/ turns sometimes into /u/ by losing the stress: jóc - jucá.
- stressed /i/ turns into /e/ if the vowel becomes unstressed: vín - venia.
- stressed /a/ alternates with /o/ when unstressed : lós - lăos.

We should mention that the above mentioned alternations do not have general applicability. They occur only with certain verbs; no phonetic or morphological regularity can be established.

e. The alternation /a/ ~ /o/ takes place even without the change of stress. The second form appears only when the succeeding inflexion is /u/ or /i/ : arátá - arát - arāti, agátá - agát - agāti.

f. We should also mention the alternation u ~ o, which appears only with the verb usuc - uoc and another isolated alternation /a/ ~ /o/ ~ /i/ : rănos - rănooi - răni.

19 Cf. Sanda Colopentia Bretescu, Vowel Alternation in Transformational Grammar, BCL, XVIII, 1967, 4, rule 4, where the alternation has general applicability.

7.2.5. Unlike the nominal inflexional system, with the verbal inflexional system there occurs a change of stress. In the dictionary the lexical formatives are all stressed. If the basic verb form is followed by a stressed grammatical formative the form loses its stress. In figure 37 we show the place of the stress in the verbal inflexional system.

With these data available we can figure out the stressed morphemes of mood and tense which trigger the loss of stress in the lexical formative. The inflexions, just like in the case of adjectives and nouns are never stressed. Therefore we shall concentrate on the stress of the morphemes denoting mood and tense. Tense are stressed according to the rule below:

I → [stressed] in the context:

a. V : 1a, 2a, b, 3 + $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Ind. pres.} \\ \text{Conj. pres.} \\ \text{Imperative} \end{array} \right\}$

b. V + Imperfect

c. V + mai mult ca perfect.

d. V 1,2,3 + Infinitive

e. V 1,2,3,4a + $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Perfect simplu} \\ \text{Participle} \end{array} \right\}$

f. V 4 b + $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Perfect simplu} \\ \text{Participle} \end{array} \right\} + \text{Pres. } 1,2,4,6$

Any suffix of the imperative, present indicative or conjunctive of a verb belonging to the class 1a, 2a, 3 is stressed. Regardless of the class the verb belongs to, the suffixes of imperfect, mai mult ca perfect and gerund are always stressed. The verbs belonging to classes 1,2,3 select a stressed grammatical morpheme in the infinitive. The suffixes of participle and perfect simplu of the verbs 1,2,3,4a are always stressed. The verbs belonging to subclass 4b select a stressed grammatical formative of mood and tense for perfect simplu only in the first and second persons singular and plural.

Mod and tense	Person	1 a		1 b		2 a		2 b		2 c		3		4 a		4 b	
		Bas.	Suf.	Bas.	Suf.	Bas.	Suf.	Bas.	Suf.	Bas.	Suf.	Bas.	Suf.	Bas.	Suf.	Bas.	Suf.
Indic. pres.	1	/		/		/		/		/		/		/		/	
	2	/		/		/		/		/		/		/		/	
	3	/		/		/		/		/		/		/		/	
	4	/		/		/		/		/		/		/		/	
	5	/		/		/		/		/		/		/		/	
	6	/		/		/		/		/		/		/		/	
Conj. pres.	1	/		/		/		/		/		/		/		/	
	2	/		/		/		/		/		/		/		/	
	3	/		/		/		/		/		/		/		/	
	4	/		/		/		/		/		/		/		/	
	5	/		/		/		/		/		/		/		/	
	6	/		/		/		/		/		/		/		/	
Perf. simplu	1	/		/		/		/		/		/		/		/	
	2	/		/		/		/		/		/		/		/	
	3	/		/		/		/		/		/		/		/	
	4	/		/		/		/		/		/		/		/	
	5	/		/		/		/		/		/		/		/	
	6	/		/		/		/		/		/		/		/	
Mai mult ca perfectul	1	/		/		/		/		/		/		/		/	
	2	/		/		/		/		/		/		/		/	
	3	/		/		/		/		/		/		/		/	
	4	/		/		/		/		/		/		/		/	
	5	/		/		/		/		/		/		/		/	
	6	/		/		/		/		/		/		/		/	
Imperf.	1-6	/		/		/		/		/		/		/		/	
Partic.		/		/		/		/		/		/		/		/	
Gerund		/		/		/		/		/		/		/		/	
Imperat.	1	/		/		/		/		/		/		/		/	
Infinit.	2	/		/		/		/		/		/		/		/	
Examples		/		/		/		/		/		/		/		/	

Figure 27

7.3. The reciprocal influence between lexical and grammatical morphemes has as a result the following phonetical changes of the basic forms:

1. $\left. \begin{array}{l} /t/ \rightarrow /ts/ \\ /d/ \rightarrow /z/ \end{array} \right\}$ in the cont. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{any cons. other than /s, } \int / \rightarrow /1/ \\ \text{any vowel Vb.1,2a,b,3,4,} \\ \text{" " } \rightarrow + /e/ \dots + \\ \text{" " Vb.2b Imperf.} \\ \text{" " } \rightarrow + \text{ Suffix Perf. gerund} \\ \text{" " } + \text{ Vb.3,4a} \\ \text{Vb.4b Gerund} \end{array} \right.$
2. $/k,g/ \rightarrow /t\int,d\int/$ in the cont. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{any cons. other than /s, } \int / \rightarrow + /e, i/ \\ \text{any vowel} \end{array} \right.$
3. $/cons./ \rightarrow \emptyset$ in the cont. $\rightarrow$ Vb.4b + Suffix $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Perf.} \\ \text{Gerund} \end{array} \right.$
4. $/s/ \rightarrow / \int /$ in the cont. $\rightarrow$ Vb.1,3,4 $/t/ + /1/$ Infl.
5. $/sk/ \rightarrow / \int t/$ in the cont. $\rightarrow$ Vb.1,3,4 $+ /e, i/$ Infl.
Suffix Vb.2c
6. $/n/ \rightarrow \emptyset$ in the cont. $\rightarrow$ Vb $+ /1/$ Infl.
[-neol]
7. $\emptyset \rightarrow /a/$ in the cont. $/\acute{a}, \acute{o}/ \rightarrow \dots + /e, \acute{e}/$ Infl.
8. $/\acute{a}/ \rightarrow /a/$ in the cont. $/p, b, m, f, v/ \rightarrow \dots + /u, \acute{u}/$ Infl.
 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} / \int \int / \rightarrow /a/ \end{array} \right\}$ in the same morpheme
 $/r/ + \rightarrow$ Infl.
Suffix
9. $/a/ \rightarrow \emptyset$ in the cont. $/e/ \rightarrow \dots + \dots /e, i/$ Infl.
10. stressed vowel — unstressed in the cont. — (...+...) stressed vowel
11. $/a/ \rightarrow /a/$ in the cont — ... + [stressed vowel]
— ... + /i, u/ suffix
— Pers. + Pers.4
— Perf.sp. + Pers.3
12. $/\acute{a}, \acute{t}/ \rightarrow /e, i/$ in the cont $/1/$
 $\left. \begin{array}{l} /k, g, t\int, d\int/ \end{array} \right\} + \text{---}$
13. $/i, u/ \rightarrow /j, w/$ in the cont. vowel $\rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \acute{e} \\ \acute{u} \end{array} \right.$

- cons. other than /l, r/
vowel
cons. other than /l, r/ +
{ ... vowel ... — the same morphem
14. /e/ → $\emptyset$ in the cont. $\left. \begin{array}{l} /k, g, t/, d\check{z}/ \\ /l/ \end{array} \right\} \text{ — } /a/$
15. /e/ → /i/ in the cont, vowel (other than /i/) — /a/
16. /ə/ → $\emptyset$ in the cont. — /a/
17. /ə, o/ → /ə, ɔ/ in the cont. — vowel
18. /i/ → /j/ in the cont. vowel —
19. /u, i, w, j/ → /u, i, w, j/ in the cont. vowel /l, r/ } — #
cons. }
/i, j/
20. /u, w/ → $\emptyset$ in the cont. — #
21. /i, j/ → $\emptyset$ in the cont $\left. \begin{array}{l} /k, g, t/, d\check{z}/ \\ /i, j/ \end{array} \right\} \text{ — } \#$

Nearly the above mentioned changes we mention the following changes for some verbs:

- a. /g/ → /pt/ in the cont. vowel — + Suffix Partic.
b. /g/ → /ps/ in the cont. vowel — + Suffix Perfect
c. cons. → /t/ in the cont. cons. — + Suffix Partic.
d. cons. → /se/ in the cont. cons. — + Suffix Perfect
e. /ə/ → /u/ in the cont. — ... stressed vowel

7.4. Certain verbs in Romanian have an irregular inflexional system: a avea, a avea, a da, a fi, a lua, a mîna, a sta, a uita, a vîna. As we cannot establish rules for the inflexional system of these verbs they have to be enlisted in a grammar of Romanian with all their inflexional forms. For their conjugation, cf. Academia Republicii Populare Romîne, Gramatica limbii romîne, vol. I, 2nd ed., Bucharest, 1963, pp. 279-296.

8. The verbal inflexional system in English needs a classification of the lexical formatives in inflexional classes, the ve-

riations in selecting grammatical morphemes being conditioned (as with nouns) by the phonetic characteristics of the final segments.

The third person singular present tense, past tense, past participle and gerund are expressed by synthetical forms different from the basic verb form. Depending on the means of forming these tenses and the third person singular present tense we can establish two categories of verbs in English: regular and irregular. We should point out that whereas in Romanian the number of irregular verbs is extremely small - nine relatively frequently used verbs, in English the category of irregular verbs is much richer. For a native speaker of Romanian the difference is essential. Therefore there may appear a tendency "to regularise" many verbs, more so since the inflexional system of regular verbs in English is simple compared with the Romanian one.

8.1. English irregular verbs select the following grammatical morphemes during their inflexion:

- I For present, third person singular: [z], [s], [ɪz]
- II For Past tense : [d] , [t] , [ɪd]
Past.Part.
- III For gerund [ɪŋ]

8.2. Under rules I and II we mentioned three forms of the same morpheme denoting the third person singular, present, past tense and past participle respectively. Each form is selected (as with the noun) depending on the phonic characteristics of the ending of the lexical formative, according to the following rules :

- I P3 is rewritten as: (a) [ɪz] in the context: /s, z, ʒ, tʃ, dʒ/ +
(b) [s] " " " : any voiceless cons.
+ —
(except /s, ʃ, tʃ/)
- (c) [z] " " " : any voiced cons.
+ —
(except /z, ʒ, dʒ/)

II Past Tense Past Part. }	are rewritten as	(a) [ɪd] in the context: /t,d/ + —
		(b) [t] " " " any voiceless cons.(except /t/) —
		(c) [d] " " " any voiced cons.+ cons. (except/d/)

8.3. Within the category of irregular verbs²⁰ we can establish certain classes, depending on the means of forming the past tense and the past participle. The third person singular present is formed according to the above mentioned rules. We may classify the irregular verbs first by the number of their inflexional forms. There is a number of approximately 80 most frequently used verbs which have the same form for the past tense and the past participle. The other irregular verbs have two forms for the two moods. In the first category of verbs we can establish the following groups:

8.3.1. Certain verbs ending in /d/ in the present change it into its voiceless equivalent /t/ in order to express the past tense and the past participle: build - built - built, lend - lent, spend - spent. So we can set up the following rule:

(a) /d/ → /t/ in the context: — Past tense
Past Part.

8.3.2. For the verbs deal - dealt - dealt, dream - dreamt - dreamt, feel - felt - felt, keep - kept - kept, kneel - knelt - knelt, lean - leant - leant, mean - meant - meant, sleep - slept, sweep - swept, we can set up the following rules:²¹

20 The number of the most frequently used irregular verbs is approximately 120.

21 In a transformational grammar we can also include in this category the verbs leave - left - left, lose - lost - lost. Using the system of distinctive features, the passing of /l/ into /t/ and of /u/ into /ʊ/ represents the same transformation. A rule of "unvoicing" applied previously to the final consonant in the context [+Past] allows for the rewriting of the morph. symbol [Past] as /t/.

(a) [+ Past] is rewritten as /t/ in the context + —

(b) /t/ → /d/ in the context — <Past, Past.Part.

8.3.3. A much smaller number of verbs form the past tense and past participle similarly. The rule of vowel change, (b), is the same. Their final consonant is, in the present, /d/ and in the past they preserve the same consonant without adding the inflexional suffix of the past: bleed - bled - bled, feed - fed - fed, lead - led - led, meet - met - met, read - read - read.

8.3.4. It is also by modification of the vowels that the following verbs form their past tense and past participle: bind-bound-bound, find - found - found, grind - ground - ground. The rule for this category of verbs can be stated as follows:

(a) /aj/ → /ew/ in the context — ... <Past

Past Part.

8.3.5. Even though certain monosyllabic verbs have in the present a different vowel segment - any vowel other than /ə/ -, in the past and past participle the vowel is changed into /ə/: cling-clung - clung, dig - dug - dug, hang - hung - hung, spin - spun - spun, stick - stuck - stuck, sting - stung - stung, strike-struck - struck, swing - swung - swung, win - won - won, according to the rule:

(a) any vowel → /ə/ in the context — ... <Past

Past Part.

8.3.6. A rule similar to that under 8.3.5. is the rule which applies to the verbs: shine-shone-shone, shoot-shot-shot.

(a) any vowel → /ɔ/ in the context — ... <Past

Past Part.

8.3.7. The diphthong /aj/ is monophthongized with verbs like light-lit-lit, slide-slid-slid, the past and the past participle being formed according to the rule:

1

burst-burst-burst, cast, cut, hit, hurt, let, put, set, shut,
spread, upset.

bring-brought-brought, buy-bought-bought, catch-caught-caught,
fight-fought-fought, teach-taught-taught, think - thought-thought.

{consonant
sequence of consonants} → /t/ in the cont. — # < Past
P. Per

tell - told - told, wake - wake - wake, we have not set up special rules, each forming the past and past participle differently.

So the rules:

(a) /əj/ → /o/ in the context — ... Past
 → /ɪ/ " " " — ... Past Part.

(b) ϑ in the context — $\#$ Past Part.

account for the forms: drive-drove-driven, ride-rode-ridden, rise-rose-risen, write-wrote-written.

8.4.2. Changing the rule (a) as follows:

(a) /i/ → /e/ in the context: — ... ‡Past

and maintaining the rule (b) as we have it under 8.4.1. we get the correct form of the past and past participle of the verbs: eat-ate-eaten, forgive-forgave-forgiven, give-gave-given.

8.4.3. Similarly, for verbs like shake and take if we apply the rule (b) under 8.4.1. for the past participle form and change rule (a):

(a) /e/ → /u/ in the context: — ... <Past

we get shake-shook-shaken, take-took-taken, their correct forms in English.

8.4.4. The form /n/ of the morpheme for the past participle is to be found with the verbs: blow-blew-blown, grow-grew-grown, throw-threw-thrown.

In order to account for their inflexional forms we can set up the following rules:

(a) /o/ → /u/ in the context: — <Past

(b) /o/ → /n/ in the context: — <Past Part.

Similarly, the verb see-saw-seen forms the participle according to rule (b). In the past the vowel /i/ is replaced by /o/.

8.4.5. By means of adding the suffix /n/ to the past tense form we get the past participle form of the verbs: break - broke, broken, choose - chose - chosen, freeze - froze - frozen, spoke - spoken, steal - stole - stolen, weave - wove - woven.

The past tense form of these monosyllabic verbs is obtained by turning the vowel segment into /o/ irrespective of its phonetic characteristics:

(a) vowel → /o/ in the context — <Past

Rule (b) illustrates the facts stated in the beginnings:

(b) /o/ → /n/ in the context Past + — <Past Part.

Rule (b) is obligatorily ordered after rule (a).

8.4.6. Replacing rule (a) by (a')

(a') /ɛ/ → /ə/ in the context: — <Past

and applying rule (b) in the same conditions we get the past tense and the past participle forms of the verbs forget-forgot-forgotten, tread-trod-trodden.

8.4.7. The vowel alternations /ɪ/~/æ/ characterize the inflexional forms of the verbs: begin-began-begun, drink-drank-drunk, ring-rang-rung, sink-sank-swam, spring-sprang-sprung, swim-swam-swum.

We can set up the rules:

(a) /ɪ/ → /æ/ in the context: — <Past

(b) /ɪ/ → /ə/ in the context: — <Past Part.

8.4.8. The diphthong /aj/ is monophthongised into /ɪ/ in the past tense forms of the verbs: bite - bit - bitten, hide - hid - hidden. The past participle forms of these verbs as well as of the verbs under 8.4.1. -3, 8.4.5. are marked by a suffix /p/

(a) /aj/ → /ɪ/ in the context: — <Past

(b) ə → /p/ in the context: $\left\{ \begin{matrix} V \\ \text{Past} \end{matrix} \right\} + \text{ — Past Part.}$

8.4.9. Certain verbs have identical forms the present tense and past participle: become - became - become, come - came - come, run - ran - run. The past is marked by vowel change:

$\begin{matrix} & /ə/ \\ /ə/ & \swarrow \searrow \\ & /æ/ \end{matrix}$ in the context — Past

8.4.10. The verbs draw - drew - drawn, fall - fell - fallen, fly - flew - flown, know - knew - known cannot be included in any of the above mentioned classes.

8.5. The possibility of establishing certain groups with common inflexional characteristics within the category of "irregular" verbs shows that with the exception of the verbs enlisted under 8.3.10 and 8.4.10., there are certain regularities

which very much limit the number of "exceptions". In the same way in which we have established inflexional classes and subclasses in Romanian, some of them containing a relatively small number of verbs, for a grammar of English we have to take into account the common inflexional features of many "exception" verbs. A transformational grammar would group the inflexional rules of these verbs under the head of "minor rules" applicable only to the lexical morphemes conventionally marked so in the dictionary.

9. Comparing the nominal and the verbal inflexional systems in Romanian and English we have to keep in mind the relation between the two languages in contrastive analysis: Romanian is the base language whereas English is the target language.

Romanian is characterized by a large number of inflexional classes established according to the grammatical morphemes selected by the lexical formatives.

In English it is not necessary to establish inflexional classes. As we have already seen, the selection of grammatical morphemes is exclusively determined by the phonetic characteristics of the final segment of the lexical formative. At the same time the lexical morphemes as well as the grammatical ones in Romanian have phonetic variations during the inflexion. These variations are very often regular so that we can make up a list of general rules according to which the formatives undergo changes during the inflexion. The number of exceptions from these rules is extremely small.

A close study of the English inflexional system shows that besides the 4 general rules for forming the plural, the synthetical genitive, the third person singular present, the past tense and the past participle, certain regularities in the inflexional system of the "irregular" nouns and verbs can be established. The comparatively large number of exceptions in English can account for the tendency "to regularize" them by applying to all formatives

the most general inflexional rules. The delimitation of certain classes to a number of "irregular" formatives can facilitate the acquisition of their inflexional system. For the noun as well as for the verb we may set up rules applicable to a more or less limited number of formatives, but we thus very much diminish the number of exceptions. Increasing the number of inflexional rules in the target language does not make its acquisition more difficult because of the rich inflexional system of the base language.

SENTENCE CONTRACTION IN ROMANIAN AND ENGLISH
THE NOMINALIZATION

by Ileana Vincens-Vintu

0. The present study represents a contrastive analysis of Romanian and English sentences generated through nominalization rules. The theoretical premises of the analysis are the following:

a. a linguistic analysis has a contrastive character if its aim is to compare two linguistic systems - the first one pertaining to a so-called base language B, and the second one to a target language, T, and to find out the best solutions for making easier the acquisition of T by the native speakers of B.¹

b. the sentences that are going to be discussed are generated by the rules of nominalization, namely "those transformational rules that convert a sentence S in a nominal or in a modifier of a nominal".²

To agree with this definition of the nominalization suggested by the authors of Romanian transformational syntax means, at the same time, to agree with N.Chomsky's,³ J.J.Kats',⁴ R.B.Lees',⁵

1 Cf. W.Weaser and T.Slams-Cazacu, A Contribution to Contrastive Linguistics (A Psycholinguistic Approach: Contact Analysis), REL, 1970, no.2, p.104.

2 Cf. Em.Vasiliiu, S.Golopenția-Eretescu, Sintaxa transformațională a limbii române (-Sintaxa), Ed.Acad.R.S.R., Buc., 1969, p.243.

3 Cf. Syntactic Structures, third printing, Mouton's-Gravenhaga, 1965, pp.40-41. (Continuation)

P.Postal's,⁶ H.Ruwet's⁷ opinion. But, it is necessary to specify the differences between these linguists' point of view and our point of view concerning the nominalization. So, in accordance with the authors of the Romanian syntax, but not with R.B.Lees, Z.Vendler⁸ and s.o., we give the name of proper nominalizations only to affixal nominalizations, whose results are nouns and adjectives constituted through the addition of a certain suffix to a verb. As far as the verbal forms like the infinitive, present and past participle are concerned, it's possible to conceive of them as component elements of base rules, similar to the inflectional forms of the noun. In addition, the syntactic status of the infinitival and present participial forms has a purely verbal character: they have a subject and direct object, the last one expressed by a nominal phrase or a sentence.

The same approach on nominalizations, but restrained to infinitival forms, is present in applied studies too, like The Grammatical Structures of English and Spanish by R.B.Stockwell, J.D. Bowen, J.W.Martin, Chicago, 1965.⁹

(continuation page 67)

- 4 Cf. An Integrated Theory of Linguistic Descriptions, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1964, p.95.
- 5 Cf. The Grammar of English Nominalizations, 1966, p.59.
- 6 See note 4
- 7 Cf. Introduction à la grammaire générative, Paris, 1967, p.215.
- 8 Cf. Adjectives and Nominalizations, Mouton, 1968, p.52.
- 9 See p.98: "The infinitive is the nominal form of the verb in Spanish, so we cannot properly talk about the nominalization of infinitives; they are always nominals, functioning as object, complement, subject and so on of a sentence". Concerning the nominalizations described in this grammar, we make the observation that the following examples are more likely ellipses than nominalizations:

la hija mia → la mía see p.99

la hija bonita → la bonita

los buenos libros → los buenos

(continuation)

1.1.0. The analysis of Romanian and English nominalization that we are going to give considers the last changes operated on the transformational theory by N.Chomsky himself. One of the most important seems to be that "the revised theory assigns no order to operations, just as the standard theory assigns no order of application";¹⁰

We use the transformational method because:

a. it works with two concepts, deep structure and surface structure, that can facilitate the study of similarities and differences between B and T. One point more: in case of a difference at the surface structure level between B and T, it's possible to reveal that their similarities of deep structure are more important.¹¹

In the meantime, the similarities between two languages can be revealed using other frequent modern methods, as the taxonomic or the distributional method.

(continuation page 68)

el libro mio → el mio see p.100

el libro de usted → el de usted

We do not agree with the definition of the nominalization proposed by the authors: "Nominalization is said to occur when a sentence element that cannot be identified morphologically as a member of the word class functions in the sentence as if it were a noun (p.97).

10 See Deep structure, surface structure and semantic interpretation, p.87, in Studies in General and Oriental Linguistics. Presented to Shiro Hattori on the occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday, ed. by R.Yakobson and S.Kawamoto, Tokyo, 1970.

11 "... we should make clear to adult learners, at least, that the Deep Structure of the language they are learning is (in all probability) highly similar to that of their native language. Given this common point of departure, they can then concentrate on the inevitable differences in Surface Structure", see W.G.Moulton, The use of models in contrastive linguistics, Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics, no.21, 1968, p.36.

For example, in the case of two sentences with the same surface structures and with distinct deep structures, the taxonomic method shows that certain syntactic elements carry out the same syntactic status, but are expressed through dissimilar phonemes.¹²

The distributional method makes it possible to delimit the specific contexts¹³ of these two sentences, contexts identical at the syntactic level and different at the morpho-phonological level.

b. The transformational method relies on a deductive analysis, that allows a more formalized description of a linguistic system than the inductive analysis. This fact is a consequence of the idea to settle as the first step of a deductive device the intuitive induction.

1.2.0. Before starting the syntactic analysis, it is useful to point out that the semantic comments on nominalizations are going to constitute the object of a special study.

1.3.0. Concerning the stages of a contrastive analysis there are different points of view, in our opinion noncontradictory:

a. Some linguists think about the analysis of two systems in contact as including the following stages:

- 1) selection of research topics relating to problematical

12 The taxonomic method depends upon the following definition of the tageme, the unit of the analysis: "The tageme is a functional point (not necessarily a point in fixed linear sequence) at which a set of items and/or sequences occur. So intimate is the correlativity of function and set that each is mutually dependent on the other; the function cannot exist apart from the set nor has the set significance apart from the function", see R.E. Longacre, Grammar Discovery Procedures, Mouton & Co., 1964, p.16.

13 In the process of establishing each linguistic unit, phoneme or morpheme, one deals with the operation of substitution, see Z.S. Harris, From Morpheme to Utterance, p.101, in Papers in Structural and Transformational Linguistics, ed. H. Hiz, D. Reidel Publishing Company, Dordrecht, 1970.

points of contact between the specific systems in contact, through observation and experimentation;

2) in-depth studies of the topics furnished by the preliminary processing of the data; and, on a long-range basis,

3) the description of approximative systems at various levels and

4) the prediction and explication of the sequencing of such systems".¹⁴

b. Others consider as a first stage of a contrastive analysis the complete description of the linguistic systems of B and T, the comparison of the descriptions and consequently, the making up of a list with the more difficult problems for the native speaker of B in the acquisition of T.¹⁵ Starting from these problematical facts, the researcher tries to formulate special drills upon the grammatical facts that bring about interferences.

Another possible point of view on the contrastive analysis, adopted in this article considers as a first stage the comparative description of B and T systems. The second stage has to establish the list of linguistic facts, probable sources of interferences, list of hypotheses¹⁶ proposed by the linguist that can

¹⁴ See W. Wensler and T. Slama-Casacu, *op.cit.* p.122.

¹⁵ This point of view, though theoretically unexplained, is adopted by F.B. Agard and R.J. Di Pietro (see The Grammatical Structures of English and Italian, The University of Chicago Press, 1965), by R.P. Stockwell, J.D. Bowen and J.W. Martin (see *op.cit.* note 9) and by R.P. Stockwell *alms* (see A Contrastive Analysis of English and Tagalog in print).

¹⁶ See R. Lado, Linguistics across culture, Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan Press, 1957, p.72: "The list of problems resulting from the comparison of the foreign language with the native language will be a most significant list for teaching, testing, research and understanding. Yet it must be considered a list of hypothetical problems until final validation is achieved by checking it against the actual speech of students. (continuation)

be or cannot be validated through the concrete sequences of a native speaker's speech. These sequences must be analysed in the frame of an approximative system,¹⁷ in this way the linguist reaching the third stage of the analysis. Finally, the last stage consists in formulating the kind of drills necessary to correct the native speakers' deviant sequences. In fact, the last viewpoint is a variant of the second one. We consider that both of them allow a better hierarchy of the linguistic facts - sources of interferences - because they take into account the hierarchy of the respective systems themselves (of B and T).

1.4.o. But, our point of view on contrastive analysis includes a new element in comparison with the second point of view, namely the construction of a transfer grammar, whose aim is to make more economic the formalisation of the first and of the second stage of the analysis.

According to Z.S.Harris,¹⁸ a transfer grammar represents: a set of rules used to generate the sequences of language B, a set composed of the generative rules specific to another language, A, and of the differences between the rules of A and those of B. In other words, in order to obtain the sequences of B, one utilizes

(continuation page

The final check will show in some instances that "problem was not adequately analysed and may be more of problem than predicted".

17 "An approximative system is the deviant linguistic system actually employed by the learner attempting to utilize the target language. Such approximative systems vary in character in accordance with proficiency level; variation is also introduced by learning experience (including exposure to a target language script system), communication function, personal learning characteristics etc.", see W.Nemser, Approximative Systems of Foreign Language Learners, p.2 pass (Forthcoming: IRAL).

18 See Transfer Grammar, IJAL, vol.XI, no.4, 1954, p.260.

the rules of A, modified according to the differences between A, and B.

It is clear that, before the construction of any transfer grammar, we have to decide which language is to be designated as A, its rules being more general and, consequently, the differences vis-a-vis the other language, B, less important.

2.o.o. The studies on nominalisations, both in Romanian and English, enumerate the general properties of the nominalisation rules:

1. The symbol of the auxiliary verb, Aux., is always deleted; thus, the verbal phrase comes to dominate only the symbol V_m (for the main verb) and this one is optionally followed by a nominal phrase. In addition, the main verb receives a substantival or adjectival suffix, the final result being a linguistic form, name of an action or a process, like the verb. In the meantime, this form presents a difference against the verb, the action or process designated by it being temporally or spatially indeterminate.¹⁹

2. Each type of nominalisation rule deletes the copulative verb.

3. The nominal, a subject at deep structure level, becomes either an attribute in genitive or a complement agentis. As regards the transformation of the subject in complement agentis, it has been observed to take place if the main verb, V_m, is transitive and its object is present.

As a supplementary remark, we underline that the complement agentis can be deleted through an ellipsis at the level of both deep and surface structure. Nothing similar about the attribute:

19 Cf. G.Guillaume, Comment se fait un système grammatical, in Langage et science du langage, Paris-Québec, 1964, p.118.

ex. scrierea raportului de către student → scrierea raportului
the writing of the report by the student → the writing of the report.

4. The direct object from the deep structure sequences becomes an attribute in genitive or is deleted. It is absent from the surface structure if it is ordered after the attribute in genitive resulting from the transformation of the subject.

5. There are cases when the suffix of nominalization - Romanian or English - is added to the symbol Adj. NP or Prep.P. each of them subordinated to VP.

6. The suffix of nominalization NML or Nas is rewritten by suf. Flex and Possessive: NML → suf. - Flex. - Possessive.

In this way, it is possible to express formally that the nominalised form is always succeeded by a noun or a pronoun in genitive.

On the other hand, these are some derivations as the R(omanian) adjectives alternant ('alternant'), băgăreț ('intruding'), chilăngiu ('slacker'), dornic ('eager') etc. and the E(nglish) adjectives absorbent, communicant, informatory etc. generated through a rule of nominalisation and not followed by nouns or pronouns in genitive. This is why, for these forms the symbol Possessive is optional:

NML → suf. - Flex. (-Possessive)

7. In both languages the symbol suf. from the expansion of NML is rewritten by a number of suffixes bigger than 1, though the transformation rule is the same. For the sake of delimiting the context suitable for each suffix, there are several possible ways:

20 In our opinion, the symbol NML is a component element of the base rules too and not only of the surface structure sequences as suggested in other studies. Cf. R.B. Lees, op.cit., p.68.

a. To formulate the subcategorization rules for the symbol suf. in such a way that the suffixal forms²¹ will appear in the left member of a nominalization rule;

b. To use special notations in the dictionary for the verbs combinable with the same suffix; the multiple forms of the symbol suf., are enregistered in the right member of the nominalization rule;²²

c) To utilise, at the same time, subcategorization rules and notations in the dictionary. This device cannot be considered economical enough, because the left member of the nominalization rule would include both the suffixal forms of suf. and the verbs with indices for these suffixal forms:

$$I - \left\{ \begin{array}{l} - \text{age}^{23} \\ - \text{anie} \\ - \text{an\c{t}\u{a}} \\ \text{etc.} \end{array} \right\} - \text{Flex.- Possessive-Aux.-} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} - \text{age} \\ - \text{anie} \\ - \text{an\c{t}\u{a}} \\ \text{etc.} \end{array} \right\} - Y$$

8. The R and E sentences with nominalizable verbs admit the following contexts:²⁴

21 We do not consider suffixal forms the semi-suffixes or the suffixoids like R.- cultur\u{a}, - genez\u{a}, gen etc. or E.- ful, - less, - some, etc., whose definition is:

"By this term I understand such elements as standing midway between full words and suffixes. Some of them are used only as second-words of opds (compounds), though their word character is still clearly recognisable". See H. Marchand, The categories and types of present-day English word-formation, Wiesbaden, 1960, p. 290.

"Les suffixoides sont les segments formatifs provenant des mots ind\u{e}pendants (substantifs, verbes, adjectifs) qui fonctionnent comme des suffixes, occupant la seconde place dans la formation d'un nouveau mot". See F. Dimitrescu, Notes sur les suffixoides dans le roumain litt\u{e}raire actuel, Revue roumaine de linguistique, 1/1969, p. 3.

22 In the left member there are the verbs with their indices and the symbol suf. without its lexical rescription.

23 The suffixes, Romanian and English taken together, are put in an alphabetical order.

(Continuation)

Contexts	Examples	English
Romanian	English	
I X-NP-Aux.-V-# — #-Y	X-eu-Present-observe-NML-că-ea-Present-veni-Y → X-eu-Present-observe-ire-Flex-veni-Possessive-ea-Y	X-I-Present-observe-NML-that-she-Present-arrive-Y X-I-Present-observe-al-Flex-arrive-Possessive-she-Y
II # — #X-Aux.- fi Adj.-Y be	X-NML-că-ea-Present-pleca-Present-fi-ca-răghios-Y → X-are-Flex-pleca-Possessive-ea-Present-fi-ca-răghios-Y	X-NML-that-she-Present-leave-Present-be-funny-Y → X-ing-Flex-leave-Possessive-she-Present-be-funny-Y
III # — #X-Aux.- fi -N-Y be	X-NML-că-ea-Present-pleca-Present-fi-un-fapt-Y → X-are-Flex.-pleca-Possessive-ea-Present-fi-un-fapt-Y	X-NML-that-she-Present-leave-Present-be-a-fact-Y → X-ing-Flex-leave-Possessive-she-Present-be-a-fact-Y
IV X-N-# — #-Y	X-persoană-NML-care-persoană-Present-cerși-Y → X-cerși--tor-Flex.-Y	X-person-NML-that-person-Present-beg-Y → X-beg-ar-Flex.-Y

(continuation page 75)

24 For English (language) the contexts of nominalized forms - implicitly those of infinitival forms considered nominalized forms too - are discussed by R.B.Stockwell, J.D.Bowen and J.W. Martin in *op.cit.*, F.G.French, *Common errors in English*, London, 1961, p.70-73 and by E.Vendler in *op.cit.* p.63 and pp.72-73. The fundamental idea of Vendler's analysis is the necessity to mention if the nominalization of a sentence yields changes in its contexts.

In a different situation there are four contexts, two of them proper to Romanian and two to English:

<u>Romanian</u>	<u>English</u>
I X-Aux.-fi-Adj.-# — #-Y ex. X-Present-fi-ciudat-NML- că-ea-Present-dispărea-Y → X-Present-fi-ciudat-ție-Flex; -dispărea-Possessive-ea-Y	I X-it-Aux.-be-Adj.-# — #-Y ex. X-it-Present-be-strange-NML- that-she-Present-disappear-Y → X-Present-be-strange-ance-Flex. -disappear-Possessive-she-Y →
II X-Aux-fi-Art.-N-# — #-Y ex. X.-Present-fi-un-fapt- NML-că-ei-Present-pleca-Y → X-Present-fi-un-fapt-ere- -Flex-pleca-Possessive-ea-Y	II X-it-Aux.-be-Art.-N-# — #-Y ex. X.it-Present-be-a-fact-NML- that-she-Present-leave-Y → X-it-Present-be-a-fact-ing- Flex.-leave-Possessive-she-Y

It is obvious that the difference between these contexts stands only in the presence of it, symbol of the pronoun it, preceding the auxiliary. Thus, the setting of two common contexts is possible:

$$\begin{array}{l}
 \text{I } X - \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \# \\ \text{it} \end{array} \right\} - \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{fi} \\ \text{be} \end{array} \right\} - \text{Adj.-\# — \#-Y} \\
 \text{II } X - \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \# \\ \text{it} \end{array} \right\} - \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{fi} \\ \text{be} \end{array} \right\} - \text{Art.-N-\# — \#-Y}
 \end{array}$$

Another solution might be to mark a symbol Pro in front of the auxiliary and to rewrite it by different lexemes: § for Romanian and it for English.

9. The derivative formations generated through nominalisation of verbs with prepositional objects are followed by the same prepositions as the verbs are. In other words, the government does not change of nominalization:

<u>Română</u>	<u>Engleză</u>
1. El s-a adaptat <u>la</u> mediu. → Adaptarea lui <u>la</u> mediu.	1. He thinks <u>over</u> this problem. → His thinking <u>over</u> this problem.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>2. Ea s-a integrat <u>in</u> colectiv. →</p> <p>Integrarea ei <u>in</u> colectiv.</p> | <p>2. The student asked <u>for</u> this book. →</p> <p>The student's asking <u>for</u> this book.</p> |
| <p>3. Profesorul a optat <u>pentru</u> soluția asta. →</p> <p>Optarea profesorului <u>pentru</u> soluția asta.</p> | <p>3. The girl complains <u>about</u> the weather. →</p> <p>The girl's complaining <u>about</u> the weather.</p> |
| <p>4. Studentul va participa <u>la</u> conferință. →</p> <p>Participarea studentului <u>la</u> conferință.</p> | |

There are, obviously, some differences between these sequences, at the verbal phrase level, because the symbol Prep. (for preposition) is rewritten by distinct prepositions in Romanian and English.

3.0.0. In our article, we are trying to build up a transfer grammar, the first language, called A, being Romanian. The reason for this is the fact that R subcategorization rules concerning the suffixes are more complex in comparison to E ones. The first step will be the setting of the R nominalization rules; after that, one examines in which way these rules must be transformed to be adequate to E.

3.1.0. The first nominalization rule, marked (TN₁), transforms the verb from a sentence in a nominal form including one of the suffixes:

<u>Romanian</u> ²⁵	<u>English</u>
- adă ex.brevadă 'blustering'	- al ex.arrival

²⁵ The list of suffixes of nominalization was established according to: 1. for R.G.Pascu, Sufixe românești, București, 1916. Studii și materiale privitoare la formarea cuvintelor în limba română (continuation)

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| - anie ex.pățanie 'incident' | - ance ex.endurance |
| - anță ex.toleranță 'tolerance' | - ence ex.insistence |
| - are ex.iertare 'forgiving' | - ery ex.treachery |
| - at ex.ureat 'wishing' | - ication ex.justification |
| - ăt ex.strigăt 'shout' | - ing. ex.writing ²⁶ |
| - eală ex.bălmăjeală 'mixing up' | - ion ex.election |
| - ență ex.insistență 'insistence' | - isation ex.organization |
| - ere ex.tăcere 'silence' | - ling ex.suckling |
| - et ex.zâmbet 'smile' | - ment ex.apointment |
| - ială ex.govăială 'wavering' | - th ex.growth |
| - ie ex.călătorie 'travel' | - ure ex.pressure |
| - ință ex.preferință 'preference' | ș ²⁷ ex.walk |

(continuation page 78)

ba română, I-IV, București, 1959-1969; Dictionarul limbii române moderne, București, 1958; Dictionarul invers, București, 1957, 2 for E.H.Marchand, The categories and types of present-day English word-formation, Wiesbaden, 1966, Z.Vendler, op.cit.; Webster's seventh new collegiate dictionary, Springfield, Massachusetts, 1965.

- 26 In case the derivative formations with -ing designate the concrete result of a verbal action, they are frequently used under the plural form: ex. earnings, leavings, loppings, savings, shavings, etc. with the general meaning 'action in general'. They have the meanings of 'agent', 'instrument', 'result', 'possession', 'place' too: ex. coating, covering, opening, standing, stopping, etc.
- 27 The derivative formations with the suffix ș are the so-called regressive derivatives. In several cases, they result through 'incomplete nominalizations'; see Z.Vendler, op.cit., p.57:

I heard him sing

I saw him cross the street

I felt the house tremble violently

According to Vendler, the sequences generated through incomplete nominalizations contain a smaller number of symbols as compared to those obtained through other nominalization rules. The contexts proper to the sequences generated by incomplete nominalizations are the following:

- ire ex.iubire 'love'
- it ex.sbirniit 'buzz'
- iune ex.transmisiune 'transmission'
- ment ex.bombardament 'air raid'
- mint ex.jurămint 'oath'
- oare ex.unsoare 'oil'
- țione ex.indicațiune 'indication'
- ură ex.intepătură 'prick'
- ut ex.ținut 'kept'
- ø ex.chiul 'truancy'

These suffixes represent the lexical rescriptions of the symbol suf. from the right member of the rule (TN_1) :

(TN_1) X-suf. -Flex - Possessive - NP-Aux.-Vm.-Y

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
→ 1	7	3	4	ø	5	8	

The mechanism of this rule consists in the deletion of the symbol. Aux. and the reordering of the symbol Vm - rewritten through the infinitival verbal form - before the suffix of nominalisation. As regards the selections of a concrete forms attachable to certain verbs, they depend upon the notations from the dictionary (see 2.o.o.).

In this case, we believe that the subcategorisation rules are not adequate, because it is not possible to formulate them in

(continuation page 79)

1. after the verbs begin, start, keep, resume, continue, stop, finish, ex. I started singing the song. p.56
2. after the verbs see, hear, feel, watch.
ex. I heard his singing. p.58.
3. after the verbs want, wish, like, prefer, decide, resolve, promise, remember, forget, etc.
ex. I prefer doing the job myself. p.61.
4. after the verbs ask, urge, order, advise, permit, compel, force, help, etc.
ex. I advised his accepting the job. p.61.

a syntax. For example, the differences between the context of the R. -are, or of the E. -al, and that of the R. -ială, or of the E. -ing are not syntactical and, then, can not be expressed through syntactical structures as the subcategorization rules are.²⁸

Some sequences generated by the rule (TN₂) :

<u>Romanian</u>	<u>English</u>
1. X- suf.-Flex.-Possessive-on- -l-Present-face-Y →	1. X-suf.-Flex.-Possessive-the -man-Present-write-Y →
2. X- suf.-Flex.-Possessive-al- bină-a-Present-întepa-Y X-întepa--tură-Flex.-Posses- sive-albină--a-Y →	2. X-suf.-Flex.-Possessive-the -plant-Present-grow-Y X-the-grow--th-Flex-Posses- sive-the-plant-Y →
3. X-suf.-Flex.-Possessive-elev- -l-Present-chiuli-Y → X-chiuli- ~~a~~ -Flex.-Possessive- elev-l-Y	3. X-suf.-Flex.-Possessive-the student-Present-walk-Y → X-the-walk-Flex-Possessive- the student-Y

These examples show the difference between R and E referring to the position of the symbol Art. in the expansion rule of the symbol NP. Thus, in R, the symbol Art. precedes or succeeds the symbol N, as it is rewritten lexically by an indefinite or a definite article in E, the symbol Art. has a constant position in front of N, no matter what lexical rescription is used. It is why the above, quoted sequences include on-l/the -man, albină--a/the plant, elev--l/the student.

As regards the rule (TN₁), we are underling another difference between the two languages: in R, the symbol Possessive is, sometimes, rewritten by formatives ordered after NP, while in E, always by a formative preceding NP in any context. We are talking about R inflections and E of. In addition, Romanian inflect-

28. Cf. N.Chomsky, Aspects of the Theory of Syntax, M.I.T.Press, 1965, p.90.

ions are included in the same words as the nouns are, but the English of represents a distinct word.

3.1.1. A Romanian-English contrastive study of nominalizations must include the analysis of two problems related to the forms resulted through (TH₁), two possible sources of interference. The first one concerns the different contexts of E nominalized forms with -ing, as they represent the transformation of a verb expressing an action as a fact. Taking for granted R.B. Lees'²⁹ assertion, one can say that:

1. a nominalized form can include among its component elements an auxiliary too, only if the initial verb names a fact:

ex. his having brought up the box

2. a nominalized form can be preceded by an adjectival form derived from an adverb, only if the initial verb names an action:

ex. his rapid drawing of the picture

3. a nominalized form can be preceded by an article that substitutes the pronominal form obtained through the transformation of the subject, only if the initial verb names an action:

ex. the rapid drawing of the picture

4. a nominalized form is necessarily followed by a preposition, either the one used with the initial verb or of (in case the object of the initial verb is not built up with a preposition), if it names an action:

²⁹ Cf. op.cit., pp.65-67. He reveals other differences between these two types of derivative formations too:

1. there are verbs not nominalizable in formations, names of actions;
2. many verbs designating an action possess nominalized forms built up with special suffixes ex. his strong objecting/his strong objection.

But, in our opinion, it is not suitable to discuss the differences 1 and 2 in this paragraph, because the first one involves the semantic nature of the verb itself and the second one is a problem of lexicon notation.

ex. his rapid drawing of the picture

5. a nominalised form can be preceded by a genitival construction (the converted form of the nominal following of) or followed by a complement agentis (-the nominal preceding the nominalised form), if it names an action:

ex. the committee's appointment of John

John's appointment by the committee

If the nominalised form is derived from a verb that does not designate an action or, being derived from a verb expressing an action, is succeeded by a different preposition than of, then the position of the second nominal can undergo a change, but the first nominal can not become a complement agentis.

The second problem likely to produce interferences concerns the R ambiguous sequences like iertares omului, with the meanings: 'the man forgives' or 'someone forgives the man'. The ambiguity of this sequence arises from the possibility to mark syntactically the determinant, namely the noun in genitive omului, both by [+ Subjective genitive] and [- Subjective genitive]³⁰

A superficial analysis of data would prove the nominalised forms to appear in such ambiguous constructions, if they are the transformations of some special verbs: their subject and object have the same semantical notation in the lexicon.

For example:

<u>Subject</u>	<u>Verb</u>	<u>Object</u>
(+Human)	accepta 'accept'	(-Animate abstract) (+Human)
(+Human)	aviza 'inform'	(+Human)
(+Human)	cerceta 'search'	(± Animate)
(+Human)	confirma 'confirm'	(+Animate concrete)
(+Animate concrete)		(+Human)

³⁰ For several verbs like altoi 'graft', the nominalised form appears in an ambiguous context if, from a semantic view (continuation)

(+Human)	ieris 'forgive'	(+Human) (+Animate concrete)
(+Human)	implora 'implore'	(+Human)
(+Human)	informa 'inform'	(+Human)
(+Human)	instiga 'instigate'	(+Human)
(+Animate)	incoera 'try'	(+Animate)
(+Human)	intelege 'understand'	(+Animate concrete) (+Human)
(+Human)	nota 'note'	(+Human) (+Animate concrete)
++Human)	solicita 'solicit'	(+Human) (+Animate concrete)

But, on the other hand, there are 8 verbs that do not have nominalized forms present in ambiguous contexts, though the former condition is fulfilled:

<u>Subject</u>	<u>Verb</u>	<u>Object</u>
(+Human)	scapara 'menopelise'	(-Animate concrete) (+Human)
(+Human)	schita 'pay'	(+Human)
(+Human)	active 'put'	(+Human)
(-Animate concrete)	in action'	(+Animate concrete)
(+Human)	adăposti 'shelter'	(+Animate)
(+Human)	amenda 'fine'	(+Human)
(+Human)	aservi 'enthrall'	(+Human)
++Human)	batjocori 'make fun of'	(+Human)
(+Human)	captiva 'captivate'	(+Human)
(+Animate concrete)		(+Animate concrete)
(+Human)	cicăli 'scold'	(+Human)
(+Human)	determina 'determine'	(+Human)
(-Animate)		(+Animate) etc.

(continuation page

point, it is derived from the figurative sense of the verb, namely 'beat someone'.

If we compare the two verbal classes, we can not select syntactic or semantic structures proper only to one of them. 'Consequently, the linguist is not able to find out the precise conditions that produce ambiguous constructions. The single solution is to formalise their notation in the lexicon with the different indexes.

Besides the type of ambiguous sequence concerning the derivative formations built up with the suffixes -arg, -arg, -ire(-ire), the Romanian language registers nominalized forms whose suffixes are -st, -st, -it, -(g,i)ală, -aj, -iune, -ut, § and that can be included in ambiguous contexts. For example:

<u>inbrăcatul copilului</u>	'The child clothes himself'
	'Someone dresses the child'
<u>ciupitul păsării</u>	'The bird pinches'
	'Someone pinches the bird'
<u>bănuiala omului</u>	'The man suspects'
	'Someone suspects the man'
<u>tatușul indianului</u>	'The indian makes a tattoo'
	'Someone makes a tattoo on an indian'
<u>blestemul săracului</u>	'The poor curses'
	'Someone curses against the poor'
	etc.

It is obvious that, for some of the quoted examples, the reason for the ambiguity consists in the use of the same syntactic construction to express, at the same time, the nominalisation of two sequences: 1.- subject + predicate - the verb being reflexive - and 2.- predicate - the verb is the active correspondent of the former one - + object.

Even if we are discussing about the meaning of both the active and reflexive form, it is possible to delimit some common semantic features characteristic of the subject and object of the respective

verb. These marks can be represented in the following diagram:³¹

	Meanings	Subject	Object	Verbs
1.	I	x	ø	bless 'pall'
	II	y	y	
2.	I	x	ø	calici 'impoverish'
	II	x	x	
3.	I	x	x	calme 'calm down'
		y	a	
	II	x		
		a	ø	
		w		
4.	I	x	x	
		y		călăsi 'lead'
	II	x	ø	
5.	I	x	x	certa 'reprehend'
	II	x	ø	
6.	I	x	y	cimenta 'cement'
	II	y	ø	
7.	I	x	x	
			y	
	II	x	ø	class 'classify'

It is very likely that the differences between II and I will be sources of interference. The probability of interference is bigger, if English provides sequences with the same kind of ambiguity, ex. I the wisecracker's assertion³² / I certarea omului.

As regards the possible interferences brought up by the facts discussed in this paragraph, we can propose the hypothesis that the native speakers of I learning II will try to divide the contexts of the II nominalizations and take into account the semantic opposition action/nomotion. The native speakers of II learning I will choose, in an arbitrary way, the I or II verbs included in

³¹ For the semantic features (marks) we use the last letters of the alphabet Y, X, Z, A.

³² See Z. Vandler, op.cit., p. 47.

ambiguous contexts. The selection is arbitrary, of the imprecise conditions which give rise to the ambiguous contexts. One way of decreasing the arbitrariness, might be to find that the speakers observe the semantic correspondence between the two languages.

3.1.2. A last remark referring to the facts, already discussed before concerns the elements used, in Romanian, in order to eliminate the ambiguity of this kind of sequence. There are two ways of doing this:

1. using the syntactic mark [+ Plural] :

ex. <u>cerșetarea cuiva</u>	'someone examines'	<u>cerșetările cuiva</u>	'someones examines'
	'someone is examined by someone else'		
<u>lămurirea cuiva</u>	'someone makes clear'	<u>lămuririle cuiva</u>	'someone makes clear'
	'someone gives an explanation to someone else'		
<u>pierderea cuiva</u>	'someone loses'	<u>pierderile cuiva</u>	'someone loses'
	'someone is lost by someone else'		
<u>Propunererea cuiva</u>	'someone proposes'	<u>propunerile cuiva</u>	'someone proposes'
	'someone is proposed by someone else'		

etc.

The generation of the sequences from the surface structure including nominalized forms marked by [+ Plural] is possible starting from deep structures with the symbol Adv.P. dominated by VF-, lexically rewritten by de multe ori 'several times'.

2. selecting different suffixes of nominalization, one of them for the construction of the nominalized form succeeded by a determinant marked [+ Subjective genitive], the other when the determinant is marked [- Subjective genitive].³³

³³ We point out that in Romanian there are other numerous cases of nominalized forms built up with different suffixes, but they (continuation)

ex. <u>căpătuirea cuiva</u>	'someone finds a situation'	<u>căpătuielă cuiva</u>	'someone finds a situation'
	'a situation is found for someone by someone else'		
<u>informarea cuiva</u>	'someone informs'	<u>informația cuiva</u>	'someone informs'
	'someone is informed by someone else'		

3.2.c. The second nominalization rule adequate both for R and E converts the verb into an adjectival form built up with the suffixes:

(continuation page)

do not allow ambiguous contexts. We give the following list of suffixes:

<u>Verb</u>	<u>Determinant</u> [+ Subjektiv sensitiv]	<u>Determinant</u> [- Subjektiv sensitiv]
avertiza 'warn'	avertis ant	avertis are
birui 'win'	biru ind	biru ire
boci 'bemoan'	boc al	boc are
brava 'defy'	brav ind	brav are
camufla 'camouflage'	camufl ind	camufl are
căcea 'yawn'	căce al	căce are
	'open one's mouth'	
cheltui 'spend'	cheltu ind	cheltu ire
ciocăni 'hammer'	ciocă ind	ciocă are
	'knock'	
ciuguli 'peck'	ciugul ind	ciugul are/ciugul ire
ciștiga 'gain'	ciștig ind	ciștig are
ococești 'bail'	ococe ind	ococe are
concura 'complete'	concur ind	concur are
demonstra 'demonstrate'	demonstr ind	demonstr are
ignora 'be ignorant'	ignor ant	ignor are
	'overlook'	
inventa 'invent'	invent ind	invent are
ingădui 'allow'	ingădu ind	ingădu are
spiona 'spy'	spion ind	spion are etc.

<u>Romanian</u>		<u>English</u>	
- aci	ex. sugaci 'suckling'	- able	ex. suitable
- angiu	ex. chiulangu 'slacker'	- ant	ex. communicant
- ant	ex. alternant 'alternant'	- ive	ex. productive
- ar	ex. colecționar 'hobbyist'	- ent	ex. absorbent
- ăcios	ex. stricăcios 'harmful'		
- ălog	ex. pisălog 'bothersome'	- or	ex. visitor
- ăreț	ex. băgăreț 'intruding'	- ory	ex. informatory
- bil	ex. rentabil 'advantageous'		
- elnic	ex. șovăielnic 'wavering'		
- ent	ex. aderent 'adherent'		
- ic	ex. anestezic 'anesthetic'		
- icios	ex. lipicios 'sticky'		
- ist	ex. publicist 'publicist'		
- nic	ex. dornic 'eager'		
- tiv	ex. combativ 'combative'		
- tor	ex. acaparator 'forestalling'		

But, the rule (TH_2) works if the nominalizable verb is subordinated to the symbol Rel, being, thus, a component element of a relative sentence.³⁴ The rule (TH_2) has the form:

(TH_2) I - NP - suf. - Flex. - Rel- Aux. - Vm - Y
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
 → 1 2 7 3 4 8 8 8

Sequences generated by the rule (TH_2):

<u>Romanian</u>	<u>English</u>
1. I-on-suf.-Flex.-Rel-Aux-șovăi-Y	I-material-suf.-Flex-Rel.-Aux-absorb - Y
→ I-on-șovăi--elnic-Flex.-Y	→ I-material-absorb--ent-Flex.-Y
2. I-substanțâ-suf.-Flex.-Rel-Aux-adere-Y →	

³⁴ Cf. Z.Vendler, op.cit., pp.37-38.

X-substanță-adera--ait-
Flex. - Y

The rule (TH_2) generates adjectives and adjectives utilisable as nouns too: ex. sugaci 'sukling', chiulangiu 'slacker', colecționar 'hobbyist', pisălog 'bothersome', băgareț 'intruder'. In the meantime, the rule does not generate derivative formations like E drunkard, whose nominal status is stable in any context.

As regards this rule, the differences of formalisation between R and E consist only in the ordering of the symbol Art. In cases when the noun has no article, there is no difference.

3.3.0. There is another derivational type, common to E and R, concerning the nominal and adjectival forms whose deep sequences have reflexive verbs in their composition.

These reflexive verbs have a distinct derivational history in R and E. For instance, in R it is possible to delimit two sub-classes: one of them includes the verbs resulting from base rules³⁵ ex.- -și aminti 'remember', se întunece 'get dark', se spăla 'wash himself' etc., the other one of the verbs obtained through transformation rules,³⁶ ex. se ajută 'help each other', se certa 'quarrel each other', se iubi 'love each other', -și pune 'put himself' etc.

In E, the reflexive verbs and constructions can be formalized through base rules with an optional symbol Refl., rules similar to those proper for the first R verbal class.

The nominalisation rules (TH_1) and (TH_2) were formulated in such a way so as not to generate forms with reflexive value, nouns, for ex. R alianță 'alliance', bosumflare 'pouting' impleticire 'staggering', jelanie 'lamentation', răfuială 'settling accounts',

³⁵ Cf. Em. Vasiliu & S. Golopenția-Erețescu, Sintaxa, pp. 99-113 and 276-281.

³⁶ See our article The Reflexive Voice in Contemporary Romanian and the Romanian-English Contrastive Analysis, RRL, 6/1971.

temere 'fear' etc. and E perjuring etc. or adjectival formatives, for ex. R adaptabil 'adaptable', descurcăreț 'resourceful' referitor 'relating' etc. To generate these forms, two special rules (TN₃) and (TN₄) are formulated. Their deep structure contains the symbol Refl.:

(TN₃) X-suf.-Flex.-Possessive -NP-Refl.-Aux-VM-Y

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
→ 182		3	4	5				9

(TN₄) X - NP - suf.-Flex. -Rel.-Refl. -Aux.- Vm-Y

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
→ 1	2	3	8	4	9			

We propose these rules in order to generate the nominalized forms both of the verbs followed by a reflexive pronoun, but in certain contexts (ex. R. se spăla 'wash himself', E wash himself (etc.) and of the verbs preceded - in R - or followed - in E - in any context by a reflexive pronoun (ex. R se impletici 'stagger', E avail oneself, perjures oneself, pride oneself etc.).³⁷

At the deep structure level, the symbol of the reflexive is ordered in front of Aux.; in the surface structure its position is different.

Among the cited suffixes of nominalization there is noted - bil too. But, its derivative formations, of their special semantic values, can not be considered results of (TN₃) and (TN₄): compare the paraphrase 'that can undergo an action 'with' that performs an action', the last one characteristic of derivatives generated by (TN₃) and (TN₄). Thus, we need a special rule, (TN₅), whose results are R acceptabil 'acceptable', analizabil 'analysable', controlabil 'controlable' etc. and E acceptable, analysable, controlable etc.

³⁷ Cf. R.W.Zandvoort, A Handbook of English Grammar (sixth edition), London, 1957, p.167.

the deep structure). From a semantic viewpoint, this mechanism reveals the object of the action and not the action itself. This type of derivation characterizes both R and E.

<u>Romanian</u>		<u>English</u>	
- aci	ex. cirmaci 'helmsman'	- arian	ex. vegetarian
- agiu	ex. bareagiu 'ferryman' or 'pilot'	- er	ex. jeweller
- ar	ex. bibliotecar 'librarian'	- ier	ex. clothier
	ceasornicar 'watch-maker'	- ister	ex. planister ³⁹
	pădurar 'forester'	- ist	ex. pianist
	sober 'stove-maker'		
- giu	ex. geangiu 'glazier'		
- ier	ex. liftier 'lift boy'		
		etc.	

The enumerated derivatives possess the following meanings: R - cirmaci 'person that guides the steer of a boat', bareagiu 'person that guides a boat', bibliotecar 'person that runs a library', ceasornicar 'person that makes and repairs watches', pădurar, 'person that runs a forest', sober 'person that builds up stoves', geangiu 'person that mounts windows', liftier 'person that runs the elevator'; E - vegetarian 'person that eats only vegetables', jeweller 'person that makes clothes', planister 'person that reads palms', pianist 'person that plays the piano' etc.

In the attempt to come to a more economical formalization, several R derivatives with an adjectival status are generated through the same rule with the quoted nouns. We are talking about dureros 'bringing about a physical or moral pain', indolent

(continuation page 92)

'nominalisations-synthèmes' to act upon deep-structure sequences like (p.104):

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Pro} \\ \text{Nominal} \end{array} \right\} - \text{Aux-Verbe} - \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{1}^{\text{st}} - \text{GN} \\ \text{2}^{\text{nd}} - \text{G Prep.} \end{array} \right\} - \text{NMIS}$$

³⁹ See H. Marchand, op.cit., § 4.5.3.

bringing about doubt', scirbos 'bringing about disgust'. This is why the symbol $\underline{N}_1$, from the right member of the rule, is considered optional.

The optional character of the symbol $\underline{N}_1$, at the surface structure level, represents a difference between $\underline{R}$ and $\underline{E}$: in $\underline{E}$ there are no similar formations. Consequently, a transfer grammar will include a common transformation rule with a special instruction for $\underline{E}$ related to the absence of $\underline{N}_1$:

($\underline{TR}_6$) X - $\underline{N}_1$ -suf.-Flex.-Rel.-Aux.-Vm- $\underline{N}_2$ - Y
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

X - $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} (\underline{N}_1) \\ \emptyset \end{array} \right\}$ - $\underline{N}_2$ - $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} -sci \\ -arian \\ -ar \\ -giu \\ -iar \\ -ister \\ -nic \\ -es \end{array} \right\}$ -Flex. - Y
 1 2 8 3 4 9

Then, the special instruction for $\underline{E}$ is read: select $\emptyset$ at the same time with the suffixes -arian, -ier and -ister.

Just as with the rules ($\underline{TR}_2$), ($\underline{TR}_4$) and ($\underline{TR}_5$), the symbol NAL is rewritten suf.Flex. too.

Examples:

Romanian

English

1. X-perceand-suf.-Flex.-care- X-person-suf.-Flex.-that-Present
 Present-conduce-o-barod-Y -eat - vegetables - Y
 → X - barod - giu - Y → X-vegetables--arian-Flex.-Y
2. X-object-suf.-Flex.-care-
 Present-provoca-scirbd-Y
 → X-object-scirbd--es-Flex.Y

3.5.0. For the generation of another type of $\underline{R}$ and $\underline{E}$ derivatives a rule having a similar mechanism to the former one, na-

mely ($\underline{TH}_7$) and actioning upon a deep structure sequence with a relative sentence in its composition is settled. But, in contrast with the relative sentence of the previous sequence, this one does not include, in an obligatory manner, a nominal phrase dominated by the symbol $\underline{VP}$. Like ($\underline{TH}_6$), ($\underline{TH}_7$) it consists of the substitution of the symbols suf., -Flex., -Rel., -Aux. by a suffixal form and of the reordering of this form after the main verb in infinitive. But, ($\underline{TH}_7$) does not generate adjectives at all, as ($\underline{TH}_6$) does, the symbol $\underline{NP}$ (< $\underline{S}$) being always deleted. The derivative formations will have the feature [+Noun], transferred from $\underline{N}$ (< $\underline{NP}$).

($\underline{TH}_7$) X - N - suf. - Flex. - Rel. - Aux. - Vm - Y

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

X - Vm-	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -ard \\ -ar \\ -au \\ -er \\ -ist \\ -or \\ -tor \\ -yer \end{array} \right.$	- Flex.	Y
1		3	4

Examples:

Romanian

1. X-personă-suf.-Flex-care
Present-cumula - Y
→ X- cumula-ard-Flex.Y
2. X-personă-suf.-Flex.-care-
Present-publica - Y
→ X- publica--ist-Flex.Y
3. X-object-suf.-Flex.-care
Present-perfora - Y
→ X- perfora--tor-Flex.-Y

English

1. X-person-suf.-Flex-that-
Present-drive - Y
→ X- drive-er-Flex.-Y
2. X-object-suf.Flex.-that-
Present-light - Y
→ X- light--er-Flex.-Y
3. X-person-suf.-Flex.-that-
Present-publish - Y
→ X-publish--er-Flex.-Y

The derivative formations generated by ($\underline{TH}_7$) are built up with the suffixes:

<u>Romanian</u>	<u>English</u>
- ard ex. cumular 'plurelist'	- ar ex. beggar
- ar ex. stăvilor 'lock'	- e ex. divorcee
- Ńu ex. lingău 'sycophant'	- er ex. driver ⁴⁰
- ist ex. copist 'copyist'	- ist ex. typist
	- or ex. sailor
	- yer ex. lawyer

3.6.o. Both R and E possess derivatives whose generation through the rules (TH₄)-(TH₇) is feasible on condition that the left member includes the symbol Adverbial, rewritten by the lexeme mult 'a long time'. The use of this symbol is motivated by the meanings of the derivatives themselves:

<u>Romanian</u>	<u>English</u>
<u>certăret</u> 'person that argues a long time'	<u>booker</u> ⁴¹ 'person that reads books a long time'
<u>losinor</u> 'person that uses slogans a long time'	<u>bridger</u> 'person that plays bridge a long time'
<u>mincău</u> 'person that eats a long time'	<u>drunkard</u> 'person that drinks a long time'
<u>plimbăret</u> 'person that goes for a walk a long time'	<u>wanderer</u> 'person that wanders a long time'
<u>vorbăret</u> 'person that speaks a long time'	

40 See R.B.Lees, op.cit., p.69.

"We may presume that all "activity" verbs have a derivative in -er, referring to the "agent", although in some cases another derivative, usually a kind of "professional" noun, is far more commonly used and tends to displace the Agentive Nominal in some uses. Exmp.

<u>He's selling the car.</u>	<u>He's the seller of the car.</u>
<u>He sells cars.</u>	<u>He's a salesman</u> "

41 The first two examples are taken from the article of Richard K.Seymour, Collegiate slang: aspects of word formation and semantic change, Alabama, University of Alabama Press, Publication of the American Dialect Society, no.51, april 1969, p.15.

It is more economical to suppose the symbol Adverbial etc. in the deep structures of the rules (TH_4) - (TH_7) , then to generate these derivatives starting from three different deep structures and obtaining, through three other nominalization rules, formations with the composition: verbal root + suffix or verbal reflexive root + suffix or nominal root (of the lexeme rewriting the symbol NP dominated by VP) + suffix.

3.7.0. Another class present in both languages includes formations whose composition is: the nominal root of the lexeme rewriting the symbol N (< Prep.P) + suffix of nominalization. These derivatives, marked by the syntactic feature [+Noun], have to be distinguished from those generated through (TH_6) , whose NP is subordinated to VP and not to Prep.P.

The mechanism of the nominalization rule (TH_9) , generating these derivatives, is identical with that of (TH_6) : several symbols from the deep structure are displaced by a suffixal form, this form being ordered after the nominal dominated by the verbal phrase.

(TH_9)	X	-	N ₁	-	suf.	-	Flex.	-	Rel.	-	Aux.	-	Vm	-	Prep.	-	N ₂	-	Y
	1		2		3		4		5		6		7		8		9		10
	X	-	N ₂	-	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -eror \\ -ian' \\ -ier \\ -ist \end{array} \right\}$				-	Flex									-Y
			1		9		3		4										10

Examples:

<u>Romanian</u>	<u>English</u>
1. X-persoană-suf.-Flex.-care-se -Present-ocupa-cu-matematica- Y	1. X-person-suf.-Flex.-that- Present-deal-in-mathematics- Y
→ X-matematică-ian.Flex.-Y	→ X-mathematics--ian-Flex.-Y

2. X-personă-suf.-Flex.-care-
Present-trăi-din-rantă-Y
→ X-rantă-ier-Flex.-Y

2. X-person-suf.-Flex.--that-
present-deal-in-music-Y
→ X-music-ian-Flex.-Y

etc.

Other formations generated through (TN₉): R - casier 'person in charge of bank or merchants cash', gorăbier 'person that sails in a ship', instrumentist 'person that plays a musical instrument', pianist 'person that plays a piano', violonist 'person that plays a violin', șilier 'person that is hired just for a day'; R-lawyer 'person that deals with the law' etc.

3.8.0. Derivatives that refer semantically to an object or to an event are generated through a rule of nominalisation too. In addition, each derivative of this type has one of the following values, besides that of reference: similarity, spatial determination or temporal determination. All of them have the syntactic mark [+ Adjective].

In order to generate these derivatives, we can apply a transformation rule to a deep structure including a relative sentence with the main verb rewritten by the lexeme referi, respectively refer. The rule will consist of the substitution of the symbols

$$\text{suf.-Rel-} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{se} \\ \emptyset \end{Bmatrix} - \text{Aux.-} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{referi} \\ \text{refer} \end{Bmatrix} - \begin{Bmatrix} \text{la} \\ \text{to} \end{Bmatrix} \text{ by a suffixal form following the symbol } N_2 :$$

$$(TN_9) \begin{matrix} 1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 & 10 & 11 \\ I-N_1 & -N_2 & - & \left\{ \begin{matrix} -al \\ -alnic \\ -er \\ \text{etc.} \end{matrix} \right\} & - & \text{Flex.} & & & & & Y \\ 1 & 2 & 10 & 3 & 4 & & & & & & 11 \end{matrix}$$

We use the accolades to mark both the Romanian forms se, referi la and the English forms ø, refer, to, that have to be con-

sidered symbols, and not lexemes. Only by accident their form is identical to the form of certain lexemes.

Examples:

<u>Romanian</u>	<u>English</u>
1. X-idea-suf.-Flex.-care-se Present-referi-la-copil - Y → X-idea-copil--Aros-Flex -Y	1. X-idea-suf.-Flex.-that- refer-to-child - Y → X-idea-child-ish-Flex.-Y
2. X-stil-suf.-Flex.-care-se Present-referi-la-telegraf-Y → X-stil-telegraf- -ic-Flex.-Y	2. X-figure-suf.-Flex.-that- refer-to-rhomboid - Y → X-figure-rhomboid- -al- Flex.-Y

etc.

At surface structure level the symbol suf. is rewritten by the following forms:

<u>Romanian</u>	<u>English</u>
- se ex. maniac 'maniac'	- ade ex. lemonade
- al ex. anual 'annual'	- al ex. instrumental/ economical
- alnic ex. lateralnic 'lateral'	- an ex. American
- ar ex. crepuscular 'crepuscular'	- ar ex. crepuscular
- atic ex. toametic 'autumnal'	- ate ex. affectionate
- areac ex. copilareac 'childish'	- atic ex. problematic
- ariu ex. brumariu 'light grey'	- atous ex. eccentric
- aros ex. copilares 'childish'	- an ex. silken
- can ex. muntean 'mountain'	- eous ex. duteous
- elnic ex. fecierelnic 'virginal'	- esque ex. picturesque
- esc ex. studentesc 'students'	- isc ex. maniac
- ic ex. vulcanic 'volcanic'	- ian ex. reptilian
- iosec ex. papagaliosc 'like a parrot'	- ic ex. Finnic, economic
- istic ex. propagandistic 'propagandistic'	- ish ex. British, child- ish
- iu ex. argintiu 'light grey, like silver'	- oidal ex. rhomboidal

- | | |
|--|-------------------------|
| - nic ex. amarnic 'bitter' | - onian ex. Buffalonian |
| - oid ex. romboïd 'rhomboid' | - ual ex. intellectual |
| - os ex. prietemos 'amicable' | - y ex. guilty |
| - ular ex. dreptunghiular
'rectangular' | |

We have to point out that the lexemes rewriting the symbol $\underline{N}_2$ need special indexes in the lexicon, to mark the possible combinations between them and the suffixes.

3.9.c. Another category of derivatives name a relation of possession. Agreeing with Ronald W. Langacker's opinion,⁴² we presume their deep structure to be

$X - N_1 - \text{suf.} - \text{Flex.} - \text{Rel.} - \text{Aux.} - \begin{Bmatrix} \text{fi} \\ \text{be} \end{Bmatrix} - \begin{Bmatrix} \text{ou} \\ \text{with} \end{Bmatrix} - N_2 - Y$

the symbols $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{fi} \\ \text{be} \end{Bmatrix}$ and $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{ou} \\ \text{with} \end{Bmatrix}$ having the surface structure form $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{avea} \\ \text{have} \end{Bmatrix}$.

The rule of nominalization consists in the replacement of the symbols $\text{suf.} - \text{Flex.} - \text{Rel.} - \text{Aux.} - \begin{Bmatrix} \text{fi} \\ \text{be} \end{Bmatrix} - \begin{Bmatrix} \text{ou} \\ \text{with} \end{Bmatrix}$ by a suffixal form following the symbol $\underline{N}_2$:

(TN₁₀) $X - N_1 - \text{suf.} - \text{Flex.} - \text{Rel.} - \text{Aux.} - \begin{Bmatrix} \text{fi} \\ \text{be} \end{Bmatrix} - \begin{Bmatrix} \text{ou} \\ \text{with} \end{Bmatrix} - N_2 - Y$

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
			-se						
			-al						
			-alnic						
			etc.						
1	2	9	3	4					10

$X - N_1 - N_2 - \begin{Bmatrix} \text{Flex.} \end{Bmatrix} - Y$

⁴² In the article Observations on French Possessive, *Language*, 44, no.1, p.52, he proposes the construction être à as the correspondent, in the deep structure, of the possessive adjectives. Consequently, it does seem adequate to consider this construction to be the abstract form of the verbs avea and have.

Examples.

<u>Romanian</u>	<u>English</u>
1. X-pămint-suf.-Flex.-care- Present-fi-cu-argilă-Y → X-pămint-argilă- <u>oa</u> -Flex.-Y	1. X-dress-suf.-Flex.-care-Pre- sent-be-with-silk-Y → X-dress-silk-en-Flex.-Y
2. X-student-suf.-Flex.-care- Present-fi-cu -bursă- Y → X-student-bursă- <u>ier</u> -Flex.-Y	2. X-student-suf.-Flex.-that- Present-be-with-courage-Y → X-student-courage-- <u>cous</u> - Flex.-Y
	etc.

A special list of the suffixal forms is not necessary, because they are identical with those proper to the former rule.

3.10.0. A special rule of nominalisation generates the formations denoting a quality, whose paraphrase is 'the property to have a certain property'. There are three different solutions for generation:

1. To start from a deep structure where the main verb is re-written by the lexeme be and an adjective is marked immediately after it. But the examples given by R.B.Less⁴³ - that has proposed this solution - are not conclusive. ex. he-~~Present-be-free-to-leave~~ → his free-dom-to-leave.

The reason is the questionable semantic equivalence between the deep structure and the surface structure. With regard to the quoted example, the derivative freedom is noted by (+ Abstract), a semantic feature whose source can not be explained, because no symbol from the deep structure has such a mark.

2. To use a string of transformations, the first one working on a sequence like le fait que Pierre est intelligent and the last one with the result l'intelligence de Pierre. But, J.Dubois limits

⁴³ See op.cit., p.82.

⁴⁴ Cf. La dérivation en linguistique descriptive et en linguistique transformationnelle, Travaux de linguistique et de littérature, Strasbourg, VI, 1, pp.43-44.

himself to enumerating this string of transformations, without explaining each of them, for example in which way l'intelligence de Pierre is generated from le fait intelligent de Pierre.

3. To start from a sequence, the deep structure level, identical to that suggested by J. Dubois and to formulate a rule of transformation that is going to replace the symbols

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \emptyset \\ \text{the} \end{array} \right\} - \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{fapt} \\ \text{fact} \end{array} \right\} - \left\{ \begin{array}{c} -1 \\ \emptyset \end{array} \right\} - \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{că} \\ \text{that} \end{array} \right\} - N_1\text{-Aux.} - \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{fi} \\ \text{be} \end{array} \right\}$$

by a suffixal form following the symbols Adj. or N. This rule is numbered

(TN₁₁):

$$(TN_{11}) \quad X - \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \emptyset \\ \text{the} \end{array} \right\} - \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{fapt} \\ \text{fact} \end{array} \right\} - \left\{ \begin{array}{c} 1 \\ \emptyset \end{array} \right\} - \text{suf.} - \text{Flex.} - \text{Possessive} - \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{că} \\ \text{that} \end{array} \right\} -$$

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

$$- N_1\text{-Aux.} - \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{fi} \\ \text{be} \end{array} \right\} - \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{Adj.} \\ N \end{array} \right\} - Y$$

9 10 11 12 13

$$\rightarrow X - \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{Adj.} \\ N \end{array} \right\} - \left\{ \begin{array}{c} -at \\ -ation \\ -itate \\ \text{etc.} \end{array} \right\} - \text{Flex.} - \text{Possessive} - Y$$

1 12 5 6 7 13

Examples:

Romanian

1. X-fapt--1-suf.-Flex.-Possessive-că-munte--le-Present-fi-inalt-Y
 $\rightarrow$ X-inalt--ime-Flex.-Possessive-munte--le-Y
2. X-fapt--1-suf.-Flex.-Possessive-că-artist--1-Present-fi-smob-Y
 $\rightarrow$ X-smob--im-Flex.-Possessive-artist--1-Y

English

1. X-the-fact-suf.-Flex.-Possessive-that-the-mountain-Present-be-high-Y
 $\rightarrow$ X-the-high--ness-Flex.-Possessive-the-mountain-Y
 2. X-the-fact-suf.-Flex.-Possessive-that-the-artist-Present-be-smob-Y
 $\rightarrow$ X-the-smob--ism-Flex.-Possessive-the-artist-Y
- etc.

Special instructions indicate the selection of the form $\emptyset$ that rewrites the symbol 2 in the meantime with fapt (for.3), -1

(for 4), că (for 8) and fi (for 11) and the selection of the form the simultaneously with fact (for 3), ø (for 4), that (for 8) and be (for 11). In the left member of the rule the forms fapt, fact, the and -l - conceived as symbols identical to the respective nouns and articles - have to appear, because the rule (TN₁₁) operates, only if the symbol suf. is preceded by a nominal rewritten by the lexeme fapt or fact plus its definite article.⁴⁵

In the right member of (TN₁₁) the symbol suf. is rewritten by the following forms:

<u>Romanian</u>	<u>English</u>
- at ex. anonim <u>at</u> 'anonymity'	- age ex. vassalage
-ătate ex. bunătate <u>at</u> 'kindness'	- cy ex. normalcy presidency
- enie ex. blegenie <u>en</u> 'dullness'	- dom ex. swaredom
- ență ex. competență <u>en</u> 'competence'	- edy ex. wrinkledy
- ețe ex. bătrânețe <u>et</u> 'oldness'	- ety ex. rickety
- ie ex. viclenie <u>ie</u> 'slyness'	- hood ex. childhood
- ienie ex. prietenie <u>ie</u> 'friendship'	
- ime ex. înălțime <u>im</u> 'highness'	- ing ex. solving ⁴⁶
- ism ex. snobism <u>ism</u> 'snobism'	- ism ex. snobism
- itate ex. falsitate <u>it</u> 'falsity'	- ity ex. stupidity ⁴⁷

45 Z.Vendler assumes the presence of the lexeme fact sometimes after which or this and other times before that: ex. He died, which surprised me (p.35); I know the fact that he died(p.37). Before the conjunction whether, he supposes the lexeme question : ex. The question whether he died puzzled me (p.37).

46 See Z.Vendler, op.cit., p.65.

47 At the surface structure level his stupidity and his being stupid must not be equated: "we must beware of the temptation to equate his being stupid with his stupidity, or his being the president with his presidency. We mentioned that the latter forms have strong suffixes, so they cannot tolerate verb-like complements. N's being A or N's being N require verb-like complements but refuse noun-like ones". See Z.Vendler, op.cit., p.44.

-itudine ex. corectitudine 'correctness' -liness ex. neighborliness
 -ness ex. cleanliness
 -ry ex. ribaldry
 -ship ex. friendship
 -th ex. warmth

3.11.e. A distinct class of derivatives generated by a rule of nominalisation contains lexemes like: R.- bombonieră 'object used to keep drops', cartonieră 'piece of furniture used to keep pasteboard, ext. documents', gimnăzie 'work-shop for the shoe-maker', curăţătorie 'work-shop for cleaning', şur 'support for eggs', secretariat 'office for the secretary', unţieră 'object used to keep butter' etc.; E- secretariat 'office for the secretary', tannery 'work-shop for tanning' etc. Of the paraphrase 'object for...' proper to all of these derivatives, we can assume in the deep structure a main verb, Yn., rewritten by R fi or E be and followed by the symbol Prep., rewritten by R pentru or E for.

The mechanism of the rule remains the same in comparison to the rules (TH₂), (TH₄), (TH₅), (TH₉) and (TH₁₀):

(TH₁₂) X-N₁ -suf.-Flex.-Rel.-Aux.- $\begin{cases} fi \\ be \end{cases}$ - $\begin{cases} pentru \\ for \end{cases}$ - N₂ - Y

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

→ X - N₂ - $\begin{cases} - arniţă \\ - ar \\ - at \\ etc. \end{cases}$ - Flex. - Y

1 9 3 4 10

Examples:

Romanian	English
1. X-object-suf.-Flex.-care-Present	X-office-suf.-Flex.-that-
-fi-pentru-scrum-Y	Present-be-for-the-secre-
	tary ⁴⁸ - Y
	→ X-secretary--at-Flex.-Y

⁴⁸ The lexeme secretary was generated through the rule (TH₆).

2. X-atelier-suf.-Flex.-care
 Present-fi-pentru-cizmar⁴⁹ -Y
 X-cizmar- -ărie-Flex.-Y

The symbol suf. is rewritten, in the right member of the rule, by the following forms:

<u>Romanian</u>	<u>English</u>
- at ex. consulat 'consulate'	- ate ex. consulate
- ar ex. ouar 'support for eggs'	- at ex. secretariat
- ărie ex. plăpumărie 'blanket-shop'	- ry ex. tannery
- elniță ex. scrumelniță ⁵⁰ 'ashtree'	- teria ex. cafeteria
- ie ex. frizerie 'hairdresser's'	
- ieră ex. cartonieră 'card index'	
- niță ex. clopotniță 'bell-tower'	
- orie ex. curătoarie 'cleaners'	
- orniță ex. gazoniță 'receptacle for petrol'	

4.0.0. As we have already made known at 1.3.0., the second stage of this contrastive study consists in drawing up a list of the possible sources of interference between Romanian and English.

Generally speaking, the facts related to R and E nominalizations and likely to produce interferences have been already discussed in part in previous studies.⁵¹ They concern:

- a. the constituent structure of the nominalisable sequences;
- b. the component elements of the sequences obtained through nominalizations;
- c. the selective restrictions of the nominalisable verbs in relation to the suffixes of nominalization;

49 The lexeme cizmar is generated through the rule (T_{HC}).

50 For the Romanian derivatives built up with the so called extended suffixes of Al.Graur, Suffixes élargis en roumain, RRL, 4/1969, pp.327-333.

51 See Alexandra Petrovan, Aspects of Nominalization in English and Romanian, in The Romanian-English Contrastive Analysis Project. Reports and Studies, Bucharest, University Press, 1971, pp.155-170.

d. the composition of the lexical classes rewriting the symbol V_m, Examples:

a. The base rules of B allow the simultaneous presence of both the subject and the object in a deep structure sequence, without blocking the nominalization. In R, such a constituent structure blocks the nominalization:

<u>Romanian</u> ⁵²	<u>English</u>
X-eu-Present-citi-carte--a-Y	X-I-Present-read-the-book-Y
→X-*citi- -ire--a-Possessive-	→X-Possessive-I-read--ing-
eu-Possessive-carte-a	Possessive-the-book-Y
	etc.

Another linguistic fact that, according to a superficial analysis, differentiates the two languages, would concern the sequences with an indirect object. Thus, in the cited article, we find the following examples:⁵³

<u>Romanian</u>	<u>English</u>
X-eu-Present-aduce-carte--a-profesor --l -Y	X-I-bring-the-book-to-the-teacher-Y
[- Genitive]	
→X-* aduce--are--Flex.-Possessive-carte--a profesor--l-Y	X-Possessive-I-bring -ing-Flex-Possessive-the-book-to-the-teacher-Y
	etc.

and the remark that aducerea cărții profesorului results through the nominalization of the sequence eu-Present-aduce-carte--a-Possessive-profesor--l. But, this assumption is questionable: if we

52 See op.cit., p.159; but, the sequences that are going to be nominalized are noted in their surface structure form, like R. Eu citesc cartea and E I read the book. This is why we changed their form, as noted above.

53 See op.cit. at the note 52, p.169; the examples have been changed in the same way as the former ones.

54 For the notation of the lexeme profesor 'teacher' with the syntactic mark [-Genitive] see M.Vasilu & S.Golopențiu-Kretescu, op.cit. p.322.

admit the sequence eu-Present-duce-carte--a-Possessive-profesor--l to be nominalized in aducerea cărții profesorului, then which sequence from the deep structure the sequence aducerea cărții profesorului de către mine semantically equivalent to eu-Present-duce-carte-a-Possessive-profesor--l is obtained from ?

As concerns the quoted sequences with an indirect object, one observe that for R, the expansion of the verbal phrase is V-HP and for E is V-Prep P. Consequently, the sequences cannot be compared with each other from the viewpoint of the transformational theory.

b. Some differences between R and E composition of sequences generated through nominalizations are likely to be sources of interference. For instance, the opposition between the so-called English strong and weak suffixes⁵⁵ does not stand for Romanian. The nominalized forms with strong suffixes have a distinct syntactic status in comparison to those with weak suffixes; they do not allow a nominal after them or an adverb in front of after them.⁵⁶

Forms with strong suffixes

Forms with weak suffixes

* refusal the gift	winning the race
* comparison Mary with John	comparing Mary with John
* painfully death	running fast
* utterly stupidity	deliberately not answering the question
	having won the race
	being utterly stupid

The probable interferences determined by this opposition in English are the following:

⁵⁵ See Z.Vendler, op.cit., p.41: "the product of V and a strong suffix, which I shall represent as V_s, can only take an unmixed set of noun-complements. This shows that the effect of a strong suffix on the verb is more radical than that of the weak suffix. While the former, metaphorically speaking, kills the verb as a verb and turns it into a noun, the latter may leave the verb alive".

⁵⁶ idem.

1. the native speakers of Romanian are going to under-differentiate the English forms nominalised with distinct (strong or weak) suffixes.

2. the native speakers of English are going to overdifferentiate the Romanian forms generated through nominalisations and built up with distinct suffixes.

Another fact related to the component elements of the surface structure: in E there are two ways of expressing the possessing, not only one, like in Romanian. But, we can assume that an interference is less likely to result from this last fact than from the opposition strong suffix/weak suffix. The reason for this is that the number of contexts proper to different forms expressing the possession is smaller and easier to be formalised than those of strong or weak suffixes.

Another difference between R and E, at surface structure level, refers to the contextual restrictions of some English nominalised forms with the suffix -ing and known under the name of Gerundive Nominal. We can quote such examples, already given by R.B.Less⁵⁷:

His eating vegetables is surprising.

* His eating vegetables is fashionable.

It's great fun swimming there.

* It's great fun his swimming there.

His dressing himself is funny.

One's dressing oneself is funny.

* Dressing oneself is fun.

Dressing himself is fun.

Because such contextual restrictions do not stand for the Romanian nominalised forms, the speech of persons acquiring Roma-

57 See op.cit., p.71.

ian or English will include interferences. In a similar way to the abovediscussed facts, the interferences will consist either in Romanian speakers learning English neglecting these restrictions or in English speakers learning Romanian applying them to Romanian.

c. These are some differences between Romanian and English in the selective restrictions of the nominalized verbs with regard to the suffixes of nominalization. It is likely that one of these differences, namely the impossibility of joining the English auxiliaries shall, can and may and the suffix of nominalization -ing,⁵⁸ will raise interferences:

1. the speakers of R will construct incorrect nominalized forms, without differentiating shall, can and may from other verbs;

2. the speakers of E will not use the nominalized forms of the Romanian correspondents for E shall, can and may.

d. As concerns the composition of lexical classes rewriting the main verb, we stress that several verbs, both Romanian and English, are likely to produce interferences. They are delimited in two classes with the common property of not allowing a nominal before them. We are talking about:

a) impersonal verbs ex. R- amurgii 'grew twilight', bura 'drizzle', consta 'consist', gerui 'frost', pinge 'snow', ploua 'rain', trebui 'must', tuna 'thunder', etc. and E consist, drizzle, rain, snow, thunder, etc.

b) verbs marked in the traditional grammars as having the logical subject in dative ex. R. căsuşa 'sawn upon', cuveni 'fit', plăcea 'like' etc.

This second verbal class is not registered in English.

In our opinion, the probable interferences, would have the

⁵⁸ See Z.Vendler, op.cit., p.40.

source in the difficulty to select the lexemes for the symbol
Ym⁵⁹

As a comment, the sequences including verbs of this type can be viewed as results of incomplete nominalisations, because their deep structures do not comprehend a nominal before the verb.

5.0.0. This present contrastive study of Romanian and English nominalisations limits itself to the first and second stage of a contrastive analysis, namely to the comparative description of the two languages - in the form of a transfer grammar - and to the formulation of possible and probable interferences. The validation of the hypotheses in an approximative system and the settling of correction drills represent the subject of a further study.

59 For the problem of semantic and lexical interferences cf. W. Menser & I. Vincens, The Indeterminacy of Semantic Interference, *Revue roumaine de linguistique*, 2/1972, pp.99-120.

A CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS OF REFLEXIVE CONSTRUCTIONS
IN ENGLISH AND ROMANIAN

by Brigida Vişan-Neuman

The various uses of the reflexive pronouns have caused almost every grammarian who has written on the subject to come up with a different account of the facts, especially since the criteria utilised have varied with the evolution of linguistics. There have been very few attempts at a discussion on the reflexives in reference to contrastive analysis and we are going to summarize the principal types of classifications that have been suggested. One proposal is made by H. Eufner¹ who after defining the reflexive pronoun as showing "the action of the verb returning to the subject instead of passing to some other object", examines the potential areas of conflict between the structures containing reflexive pronouns in English and German.

(1) In English we can choose whether to express the reflexive or not. In German if a reflexive situation is to be described the reflexive pronoun has to be used.

e.g. ich habe mich gewaschen - I washed (myself)
ich habe gewaschen - I did the laundry.

(2) The reflexive pronoun is used much more frequently in German than in English, a statement maintained by examples of

¹ "The Grammatical Structures of English and German", The University of Chicago Press, 1962.

such English patterns as "the book reads well" which have German equivalents containing the reflexive pronoun.

R. Stockwell, D. Bower and J. Martin¹ point out that in both languages pronouns are generally used only when the context supplies unequivocal information about their referents. In English the reflexives are restricted to the "literal" meaning of the reflexive construction (e.g. "John cut himself") while in Spanish they can be used figuratively:

- (1) when no mention is given of the person that performs an action (the IIIrd person), the usual English equivalent being a passive construction or a simple intransitive (e.g. The games were organized; Se organizaron los juegos. The traffic stopped; Se paró el tráfico).
- (2) when the subjectless reflexive construction indicates an action going on, with no regard to who is performing the action; (Se habla mucho aquí. There's lots of talking here.)
- (3) when in the plural, the reflexive construction may imply a reciprocal meaning. "Se felicitaban" may be translated either by "They congratulated themselves" or by "They congratulated each other."²

Finally the authors comment on the notion of obligatory reflexives, verbs always accompanied by reflexive pronoun. The conclusion, based on the premise that transfer from one language to another becomes more difficult as the correspondences weaken, is that a student, a native speaker of English, learning Spanish will tend to omit those reflexive pronouns that are not paralleled in comparable English expressions.

1 "The Grammatical Structures of English and Spanish", The University of Chicago Press [ed. 1966] p.p. 190-191.

2 The authors do not distinguish between the construction as a whole which has the reciprocal meaning and the verbs with this feature.

The works quoted above, besides a series of important principles, whose application proves useful in the practice of foreign language teaching, also contain faults arising from being chiefly based on the comparison of surface structures across languages. Transformational grammar offers us the possibility of making contrastive studies with greater explanatory power. If deep structures exhibit fewer differences across languages then contrastive analysis based on a transformational generative model would be "the process of showing how each language interprets universally shared features as unique surface forms".¹

It has been pointed out that two types of transformational models have been proposed for use in contrastive linguistics. For the present discussion we shall use the Chomskyan and the Fillmorean models as both theories co-operate in explaining our language material. In this partial study on the constructions containing reflexive pronouns our aim is the exploration of the mixed type of competence resulting from the contrast between Romanian as a mother tongue and English as a second language. The order of exposition will follow the transfer from the language in which the phenomenon is grammatical to the language in which it is lexical.

2. We shall begin our survey with a series of constructions containing reflexive pronouns at the level of the syntactic deep structure. Following the Phrase-structure rule C 17 in "Sintaxa transformatională a limbii române"² we rewrite the symbol Verb as a sequence of obligatory and optional symbols. The optional sym-

1 Di Pietro "Contrastive Analysis and the Notions of Deep and Surface Grammar" from "Monograph Series on Language and Linguistics. 19th Annual Round Table.

2 E. Vasiliu, S. Golopenția-Eretescu, op.cit., Ed. Acad. R. S. R., 1969, Buc., p. 111.

bol Repl has been included in this derivation to account for the cases when the verb imposes with necessity the occurrence of the reflexive pronoun. A similar interpretation is given by G. Pa-nă-Dindelegan in the work "Grupul verbal in sintaxa transforma-țională a limbii române" (unpublished), who considers that the symbol Repl. appears in the derivation of the "Predicate" in the following two cases:

a) when the verb is obligatorily reflexive

e.g.: Ion se bizuie pe cineva, Ion se căciulește, Ion se codește, Ion se cramponează de ceva, etc.

b) when in Romanian, the same phonological representation is part of, at least, two constructions, a reflexive and a non-reflexive one, each of them containing a verb with its own semantic configuration

e.g.:

			$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ceva} \\ \text{pe cineva} \end{array} \right.$
Ion	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{așteaptă} \\ \text{se așteaptă} \end{array} \right.$		
			la ceva

In English, this syntactic feature of the symbol Reflexive appears in a relatively reduced number of verbs: to absent oneself from, to bethink oneself to, to content oneself (with), to perjure oneself, to avail oneself of, to bethink oneself of/that etc. One can isolate on the basis of the opposition $[+ \text{Repl}] / [- \text{Repl}]$ two or more verbal formatives with particular semantic properties in the same phonological representation:

e.g.: to acquit - (1) a plăti (o datorie) (2) a declara pe cineva nevinovat, a achita pe cineva.

[the semantic configuration of this formative doesn't permit the identity between the subject and the object]

(3) ~ oneself of-a-și îndeplini (o sarcină)

(4) ~ oneself (well) - a juca un rol

- to allow - (1) a admite ceva, a permite cuiva să facă ceva
 (2) ~ for (vi) - a ține seama de
 (3) ~ oneself - a se da da la
- to conduct - (1) (army, orchestra) a dirija, a conduce
 [doesn't allow the identity between the subject and the object]
 (2) ~ oneself - a se purta, a se comporta
- to lend - (1) a împrumuta
 (2) ~ oneself to - a se purta la
- to collect - (1) (taxes) - (vt) - a colecta bani, a strânge taxe
 (2) ~ oneself - a se reculege
 (3) (vi) - a se aduna
- to compose - (1) a compune, a alcătui
 (2) a scrie (versuri, muzică, etc.)
 (3) ~ oneself - a se calma, a-și reveni
- to busy - (1) a da de lucru
 (2) ~ oneself with - a se îndeletnici
- to enjoy - (1) ~ good health - a se bucura de
 (2) a-și plăcea (cuiva ceva)
 (3) ~ oneself - a se distra
- to degrade - (1) a degrada, a reduce în grad [does not allow the identity between the subject and the object]
 (2) ~ oneself - a se umili

In the same phonological representation there have been distinguished verbs:

- (1) which cannot enter the reflexive constructions as they do not allow the identity of the subjects and objects/which enter the constructions with reflexive pronouns.
- (2) which are transitive but their object is characterized by the

feature [- Animate] /which enter the construction with reflexive pronouns.

The reflexive pronoun, directly dominated by the symbol Verb is an assemantic syntactic categorial symbol. There are many intransitive verbs in English having as Romanian counterparts verbs obligatorily reflexive:

a se bizui pe	- to depend on - to rely on
a se crampona de	- to cling to
a se deda la	- to take to (He has taken to drinking) to set about
a se erija (in cunoșcitor)	- to pose as to set (oneself) up as to give oneself out as (a connoisseur)
a se grosăvi (cu)	- to put on airs to boast of/about to brag of
a se căciuli	- to eat humble pie
a se gudura (d.cîine)	- to fawn upon
a se lamenta	- to lament to wail
a se mocaî	- to dawdle

The types of verbal constructions analysed in this chapter have a syntactic feature common to English and Romanian: the reflexive pronoun plays the part of a syntactic categorial symbol of a constituent type. The vast majority of such constructions in Romanian consist of neological verbs or verbs with a strong stylistical charge. Their English equivalents, obtained by translation are a reduced number of verbs obligatorily reflexive and a rich variety of intransitive verbs and phrases (eat humble pie, put on airs). In the case of the present Romanian-English analysis

is for a native speaker of Romanian who learns English, the direction of analysis being from Romanian to English with the latter as a target language, it is useful to know that there are many verbs obligatorily reflexive in English that do not yield reflexive equivalents in Romanian and that English abounds in intransitive verbs with Romanian reflexive equivalents.

3.1. In this paper, comparison as a method of contrastive analysis includes the comparison of grammatical rules and their place in grammar. The reflexivization transformation [Refl. T] acts in similar conditions in English and in Romanian, by pointing out the similarities of the base and target language, learning can be facilitated.

As Noam Chomsky has shown¹ the notion of identity with which linguistics operates includes the identity of reference. In the sentence "John Adams injured John Adams" the second occurrence of "John Adams" is understood to have a different referent than the first one, while "himself" in "John Adams injured himself" is interpreted as having the same referent as the subject. Chomsky suggests that the reflexivization may only apply to NP which have been assigned the same integer. Thus, the two occurrences of the lexical item "John Adams" will refer to the same individual if they have identical subscripts. But "John Adams₁" and "John Adams_j", the two phonetically identical NP, are the names of two persons, for "1" is not equal to "j".

The transformation which inserts the reflexive and deletes one of the identical elements is:

$$(3\ I) \ NP_1 - V - NP_2 - Y \rightarrow NP_1 - V - Refl - Y.$$

The reflexivization transformation can be applied only in

1 Aspects of the Theory of Syntax. pp.145-146, M.I.T. Press, 1965.

the presence of the feature [+ Personal] under the domination of the subject and of the direct object or of the subject and of the indirect object (a condition mentioned in the work of Gabriela Paná Dindelegan).

In this paper the reflexivization transformation is presented in a generalized form, taking into account the suggestion made by A.J.Ford. "... expressing the potential domain of the true reflexive transformation in terms of case frames, involves us in considerably greater complication than if we were to state it in terms of an ordinary predication. By listing case frames as in Bello or Lens we seem to be missing the broader generalization that in almost all cases where there is identity between the subject (let us say first argument) and any of the other arguments of a predicate then the true reflexive rule is applied.¹

The verbs which permit the reflexivization transformation could be illustrated with such examples as: *a se imbrica*, *a se caca*, *a se acunche*, *a se obisnuí*, *a se distra*, etc.

Mention ought also to be made of the tendency to omit the reflexive pronoun in English, whenever the structures are not ambiguous, and so vacillate between the transitive-reflexive construction and the intransitive one. Examples of such verbs are: abandon, acclimate, accustom, acquaint, arrogate, keep, indulge, present, stultify, address, associate, avenge, avow, refresh, find, confine, deceive, devote, erect, employ, compromise, congratulate, consider, consult, sacrifice, redeem, reduce, calm, hurt, defend, etc.

3.2. In both languages there is a group of verbs which cannot undergo the reflexivization transformation, since, on account

1 A.J.Ford - "Se" forms and reflexives in Spanish. Paper written for the seminar in syntax directed by Prof. G.Fillmore at the 1970 Linguistic Institute Columbus Ohio, p.7 (unpublished).

of semantic reasons, they do not allow the identity between their subjects and objects. They will be presented grouped in synonymic series, in which the syntactic particularity [- Refl.] is characteristic of the whole set of words with similar meaning.

absolve	a absolvi, a achita
acquit	a ierta
hail	a saluta
greet	a salama
salute	a intimpina cu urări
accost	a accosta
solicit	a nomi
entice	a ademeni
	a atrage
slander	a birui
libel	a calomnia
defame	a vorbi de rău
speak ill of	a elevati
revile	a defăina
decry	a secerai minciuni despre
disparage	a condamna
calumniate	
reprove	a certa
rebuke	a brusea
chide	a brutaliza
reprimand	a mustra
scold	a dojeni
rate	a admonesta
admonish	
discard	a elibera dintr-o funcție
discharge	a destitui
dismiss	a concedia
cashier	a îndepărta din serviciu
disband	a lăsa la vatră (mil.)
convene	
convoke	a convoca
summon	

co-opt	a coopta
cheat	a înșela
juggle	a păcăli
trick	a escroca
swindle	a amăgi
betray	a trăda
escort	a însoți
accompany	a acompania
convoy	a escorta
lead	a conduce
conduct	a dirija
exclude	a exclude din
expel	a exmatricula
excommunicate	a excomunica
banish	a deporta
ostracize	a ostraciza
	a expulsa
abduct	
kidnap	a răpi
arrest	a aresta
assassinate	a ucide
	a asasina
exploit	a exploata
	a asupra
woo	a face curte
coax	a convinge
persuade	a constringe
coerce	
tease	a ciocoli
hag	a alicii
bicker	a se certa
pester	a se ciotorovi
	a pisălogi

3.3. The constructions which result after the reflexivization transformation are called in "Gramatica Academiei"¹ "objective reflexives" and were given the same interpretation, as being the result of a change: "The reflexive pronoun can be replaced by a personal pronoun or by a noun in the same case with it. In this situation, the reflexive pronoun has the function of a direct or indirect object". The traditional English grammar also interprets the reflexive as the result of a change undergone by the active construction: "When subject and object are identical we use for the latter the so-called reflexive pronoun."² A large number of papers on transformational grammar study the way in which we can apply the reflexivization transformation and the cases when it is replaced by the pronominalization transformation. The transformational rules have been intensively investigated by Rosenbaum. The formulation of the conditions in which pronominalization occurs was arrived at independently by Postal, Matthews, M.Gross, G.Lakeoff and R.Langacker.

Lees and Klima in their study "Rules for English Pronominalization"³ derive the reflexive pronoun exclusively by the reflexive transformation. In contradistinction to them we consider that the domain of the reflexive transformation is limited to the cases analysed in this chapter, which belong in fact to the active voice, and that the other constructions containing the reflexive pronoun differ from the active from the semantic point of view.

3.4. Verbs which are characterized [+ Refl T] may undergo

1 Gramatica Academiei, vol.I, pg.120, Acad. R.S.R., Buc.

2 O.Jespersen "Essentials of English Grammar", 1937, p.111.

3 from p.144 Modern Studies in English. Readings in Transformational Grammar. Ed. by D.Reibel and S.Schane, Prentice Hall, New Jersey.

a nominalization transformation"¹ by which they can make up a variety of lexical units with the semantic features [+ Refl]. When studying the grammatical relations which appear in the underlying structure of a unit such as "self-approving" we notice that the relation verb-object is transposed into the relation noun-attribute (prefix).

The subcategorization rules applied to the symbol Verb ensure the insertion of the verbal prefix "self" - only with certain verbal roots which allow the application of the reflexive transformation. This relation between the prefix self - and an "Action Nominal" can be illustrated by deriving "self-approving" from "John approves John":

- (1) John approves John (Refl T)
- (2) John approves his self (GT 8)
- (3) John's approvement of his self (T 70)
- (4) the approvement of John by his self (NPN)
- (5) the self-approvement of John.

The deletion of the pronoun "his" which matches the subject was permissible as the condition $John_1 \equiv John_1$ was satisfied and as another mention of the subject was left in the sentence. Otherwise the structure is immediately modified because when undergoing nominalization the subject of the sentence becomes the subject of the lexical unit; thus we can obtain either (a) a sentence with a different meaning or (b) a sentence which is not admissible in English, as the following examples show:

- (a) "John condemns Mary's smoking $\Rightarrow$ John condemns smoking", in which "smoking" is derived from the source sentence "One smokes" and not from "Mary smokes".

1 cf. the suggestions made by Lees in "The Grammar of English Nominalization" published by Indiana University Bloomington Mouton & Co. The Hague, 1966, IV printing I, ed. 1958.

(b) John waited for Mary to wash herself $\Rightarrow$ John waited to wash herself.

The prefix "self" - may be linked to a nominal root which denotes the agent of an action, to an "Agentive Nominal" (the type self-deceiver)

3. III (1) John deceives John (Ref1 T)
- (2) John deceives his self (T 47)
- (3) John is a deceiver of his self (OT 9)
- (4) deceiver of self (NPN)
- (5) self-deceiver

After obtaining the agentive predicate of "be" we have inserted it by a generalized transformation for the nominal matching the subject.

In connection with the kind of nominality we mention below several lexical units, which English abounds in, characterized in the deep structure by the presence of a verb which admits of the reflexive transformation. Although there appear differences in minor details, the nominalization transformation brings about the omission of a linking, typically prepositional and the reversal of the two flanking members. The nominalizing morpheme (Nml) produces derived nominals ending in -tion, -ity, -ment, etc. and the agentive suffix is -er. The suffixes placed before the verb are moved in a post-verbal position by a further rule. We have kept Lees's system of notation where: N^0 - the nominal affix of number, P - preposition and T - determinative.

The nominalization transformation applied to the lexical units analysed in this chapter is :

3 IV $x_1 - x_2 - x_3 - x_4 - x_5 - x_6 \dots > x_1 - x_4 - x_2 - x_6$
where

$$x_2 = \begin{vmatrix} \text{Ing} \\ \text{Nml} \\ \text{Er} \end{vmatrix} V + N^0(\text{of} + \text{Nom})$$

$$x_2 = N' \quad x_6 = N^0 \quad x_3 = P + T$$

To produce all desired units one further operation is required: the change in the position of the nominal morpheme as the order [Suf_n ~ V] is not the normal order of these formative in English.

self-abandonment, self-abandoning
self-abasement
self-abnegation
self-accusation, self-accusatory, self-accusing
self-admiration
self-adornment
self-advertisement
self-affirmation
self-aggrandisement
self-approbation, self-approval, self-approving
self-appreciation
self-asserting, self-assertion
self-betrayal
self-boasting
self-closing
self-combustion
self-cocking
self-condemnation, self-condemning
self-congratulation
self-consuming
self-conservation, self-conserving
self-contentment
self-contradiction, self-contradictory
self-cooking
self-correspondent, self-corresponding
self-critical, self-critician
self-deceiving, self-deceiver
self-deception
self-demagnetizing
self-denying, self-denial, self-denier
self-depreciation, self-depreciative
self-destroying, self-destruction, self-destroyer
self-determining, self-determination
self-development
self-devouring
self-devotion

self-directing, self-direction
self-disclosure
self-disparagement
self-dissatisfaction
self-education
self-evacuation
self-effacement
self-examination
self-explanatory, self-explaining
self-exaltation, self-exalting
self-expatriation
self-feeding, self-feeder
self-flattering, self-flattery
self-flagellation
self-formation
self-fulfilment
self-generation, self-generating
self-government, self-governing
self-gratification
self-harming
self-humiliation
self-immolation
self-ignition
self-improvement
self-indulgence
self-instruction
self-ionisation
self-justification
self-knowledge
self-loving, self-love
self-laudation
self-maintenance
self-mastery
self-mortification
self-murderer
self-neglecting
self-observation
self-pollution
self-perfectionment
self-preservation
self-realisation

self-reduction
self-regulation, self-regulative
self-renunciation
self-repression
self-revelation, self-revealing
self-slaughter
self-surrender
self-tormenting
self-torture
self-tuition, etc.

(After the dictionaries: Roger's Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases, Webster, Concise Oxford Dictionary)

The vast majority of the English units analysed above correspond to a nominal root to which is adjoined the prefix "auto", quite frequent in Romanian in the technical vocabulary or as neologisms such as: autoadministrare, autoapărare, autosprindere, autobiografie, autoconservare, autocritică, autodemascare, auto-dezvoltare, autodeterminare, autodistrugere, autodizolvare, auto-excitație, autoexigență, autofecundare, autofinanțare, autoferilitate, autoflagelare, autogestionare, autoguvernare, autoimpunere, autoinducție, autoinfecție, autoliniștire, autoabsorbție, autoconjugat, autoadjuant, autoreglabil, sistem cu autosadaptare, punte cu autoechilibrare, reacție autocatalizată, bujie cu autocurățire, autoclenșare, autoînchiderea circuitelor.

3.5. At the end of the chapter on the way in which Refl T operates, we should like to mention some phrases which are peculiar to English and to which Romanians learning English are faced with a double difficulty. These constructions contain a reflexive pronoun, although the verbs are characterized by [-Refl T] in other contexts. They have the general meaning "to damage oneself by doing action to excess", further referred to as [+ Excessive] and are formed by means of an obligatory prefixation transformation with the preposition "over". Such English

phrases with the semantic feature [+ Excessive] cannot be translated literally into Romanian. "To oversleep oneself" can be explained as "to miss intended hour of rising by sleeping too long" (a dormi mai tirziu decît ora obișnuită, a nu se trezi la timp" (according to Dicționar român-anglez, Ed.Stiint., Buc., 1971). Other examples of similar phrases are: to overdrink oneself, to overeat oneself, to overfeed oneself, to overgrow oneself, to overjump oneself, to overpreach oneself, to overreach oneself, to overrun oneself, to oversleep oneself, to overspend oneself, to overtoil oneself, to over-walk oneself, to over-match oneself, to overwrite oneself, etc.

In all the constructions mentioned above the semantic feature [+ Excessive] is brought about by linking the elements Refl over.

4. As the impersonal constructions analysed in the traditional grammars of English and Romanian are heterogeneous from the point of view of the transformational grammar, containing quite distinct classes of occurrences, we shall limit ourselves to indicating only a modality of generation of a single type of constructions:

- i.e. 4 I The book reads easily
4 II The book is easily read
4 III Cartea este citită cu ușurință
4 IV Cartea se citește cu ușurință

in contradistinction to:

- 4 V John reads the book easily
4 VI Ion citește cartea cu ușurință

We can generate in a similar way the sentences:

- 4 VII Valuable discoveries are made nowadays
4 VIII În zilele noastre se fac descoperiri prețioase.

In the above sentences, one and the same verb is associated

with nouns in several combinations of cases. Following the analysis made by Fillmore,¹ we posit the case frame [+ — O (A)] for the set of verbs occurring in sentences of the type 4.I-VIII. The case "Objective" (O) is defined as "the semantically most neutral case, the case of anything representable by a noun whose role in the action or state identified by the verb is identified by the semantic interpretation of the verb itself". Consequently the concept should be limited to things which are affected by the action or state identified by the verb;² the case "Agentive" (A) is the case of the typically animate perceived investigator of the action identified by the verb.³ The parentheses indicate the existence of an optional case. This way of analysing certain examples of grammatical synonymy can reduce the number of semantic entries. As it is shown in Fillmore⁴ this interpretation has advantages in the analysis of English where a large number of verbs can be used transitively and intransitively without any change of form. The work quoted above presents the hypothesis that in certain languages the occurrence or non-occurrence of one of the "optional" cases may have an effect on the verb. If for the verbs with an accompanying case frame [— O (A)] the presence of A determines a variant of a verb different from that in which A is missing (distinguishing the transitive from the intransitive use of the same verb) or if the absence of A requires an additional element, we can introduce a series of transformations which can account for these forms.

In English, the subjectivization of O in the conditions of the absence of a noun in Agentive brings about the neutrali-

1 Ch. Fillmore "The Case for Case" in E. Bach and Harnas "Universals" in Linguistic Theory".

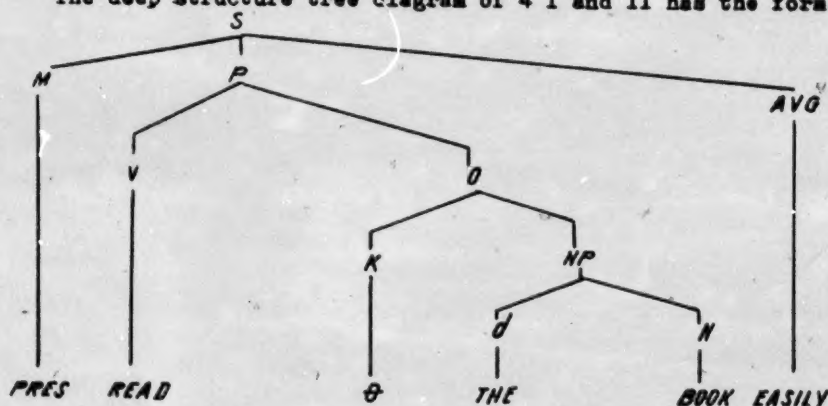
2 Ibidem, p. 25

3 Ibidem, p. 24

4 Ibidem, p. 30 Note 39

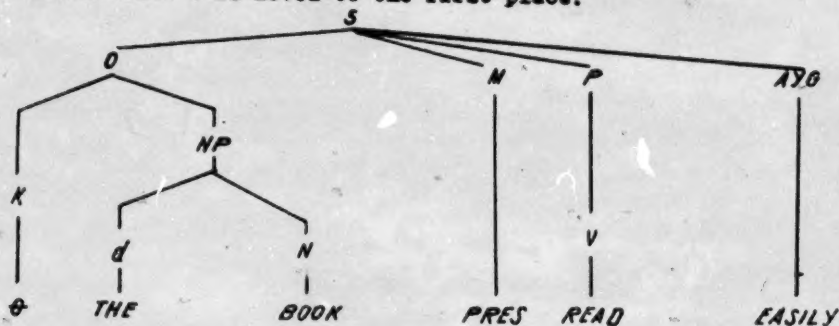
sation of the distinctions from the deep structure and the appearance of a single form called "Nominative". By this process one can obtain two synonymous forms: (a) in which the verb is intransitive, active form, (b) in which the feature [+ Passive] is associated with the verb which has as effect the loss of the property of absorbing the tense (which implies the automatic insertion of "to be" in the Modality constituent and the appearance of a special passive form (made, read, etc.).

The deep structure tree diagram of 4 I and II has the form:

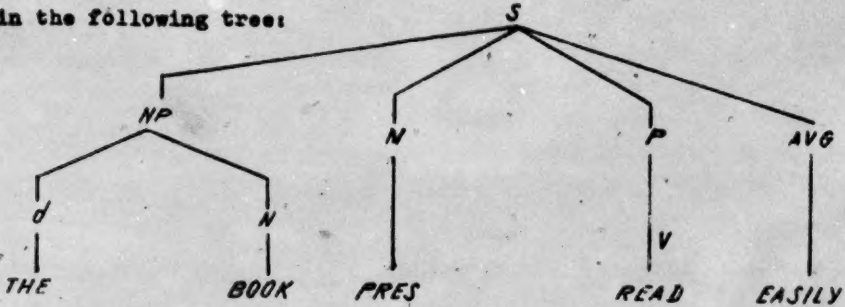


in which M - modality, d - determinative. It is assumed that the rules of the deep structure have a universal character and we conceive the prepositions and the case affixes as realizations of a basic element *kasus*, symbolized as K.

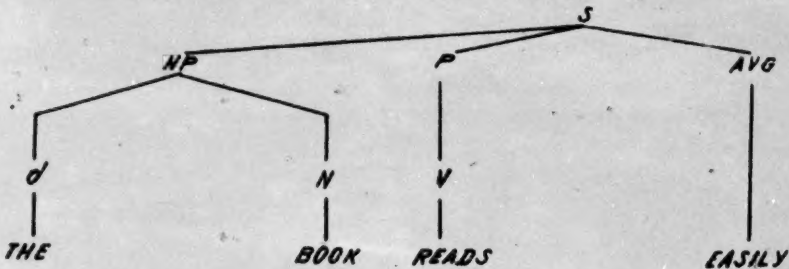
The sentence contains only one case category, so the noun in the case O is moved to the first place.



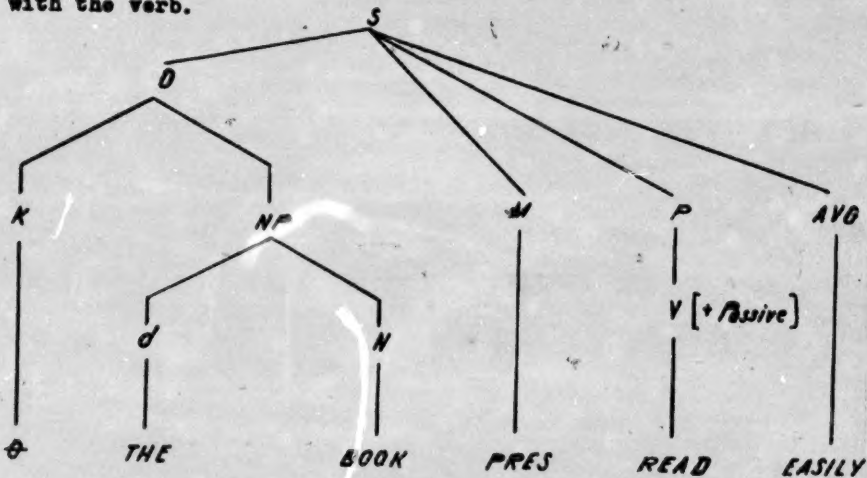
Further on, the rule of subject-preposition deletion removes the preposition and deletes the case label, as it is represented in the following tree:

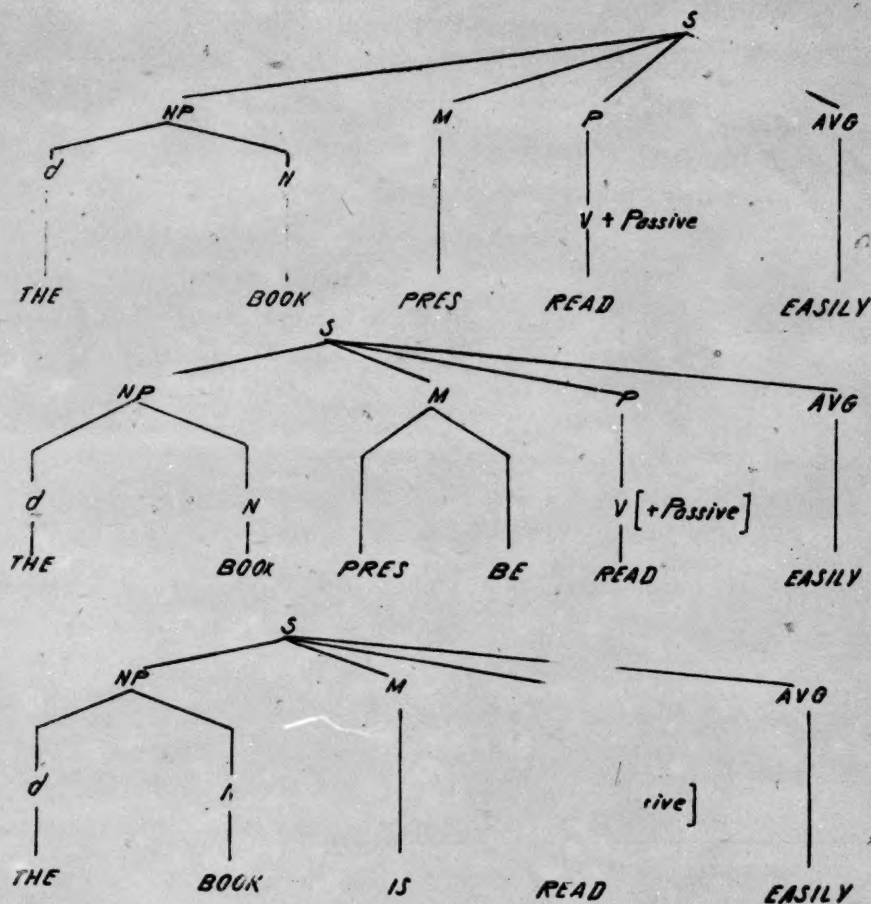


The final form which appears in the surface structure has the tense incorporated in the verbal form:



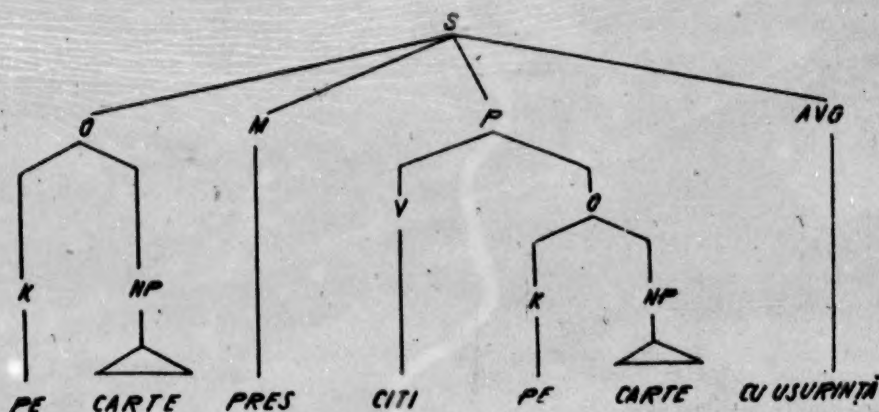
In the variant (b) the feature [+ Passive] is associated with the verb.





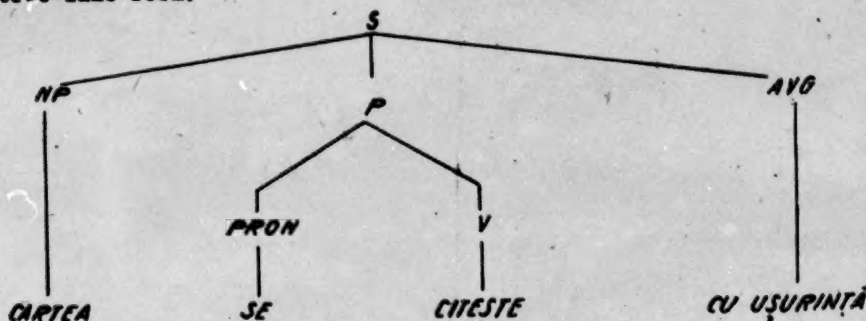
In Romanian one can also find two constructions (a): 4 III a passive construction formed with the auxiliary of the passive "a fi" and the "special passive" form of the verb (*citită*); (b) 4 IV a construction in which "se", the marker of passive impersonal reflexive, appears.

The variant (b) can be obtained by copying 0 to the first position:



followed by a pronominalization transformation which replaces the repeated noun. For the subjectivalization of O we introduce the transformation of the subject-preposition deletion.

The surface structure can be represented in the following tree-like-form.



Starting from a common deep structure $[V + O + (A)]$ we have tried to present the different transformations by which we can arrive at synonymous forms in the surface structure. Besides the verbs which form a passive construction with an impersonal meaning when the noun in the Agentive is absent, we have also introduced in this category a number of transitive verbs which used intransitively have an impersonal passive meaning: the translation reads well, the meat cuts tender, the wine tasted sweet, silk washes well, his plays won't act, clothes iron more easily when

damp, the book sells well, the pork is not digesting well, the trousers have worn into holes, the meat cooks all the better if-- , meat will taint readily, muscles contract easily, furniture dilapidates easily, a wound festers slowly etc.

In Romanian we have obtained a passive construction and a passive-reflexive construction, both of them having an impersonal meaning when the noun in the "Agentive" case is not mentioned. Such an analysis represents a possibility of formally expressing the distinction made in the grammar of the Romanian language between the passive impersonal reflexive and the impersonal reflexive.¹ This distinction is restated in terms of the transformational grammar in "Sintaxa transformatională a limbii române",² where the impersonal reflexive is derived from structures in which the symbol Refl is not dominated by Pas but by Impers. In the paper "Grupul verbal în sintaxa transformatională a limbii române" the Refl appears under the domination of the symbols Impers and Pas as a grammatical marker of these syntactic categories.

By comparing the surface structure sentences of Romanian and English, with a common underlying structure [V + O + (A)] we notice that English sentences with passive verbs have as equivalents in Romanian constructions with reflexive pronouns:

(1) Many interesting opinions were put forward at the conference yesterday.

La conferința de ieri s-au expus multe păreri interesante.

(2) Many blocks of flats have been built in Bucharest in the last few years.

În ultimii ani s-au construit în București multe blocuri moderne.

1 Gramatica limbii române. Academia R.S.R., ed. a II-a, Buc., 1963, vol. I, p. 20.

2 op.cit., p. 279.

(3) New methods have recently been introduced in the teaching of foreign languages.

Recent s-au introdus noi metode în predarea limbilor străine.

(4) New data about outer space have been obtained.

S-au obținut date noi în legătură cu spațiul cosmic.

The sentences with intransitive verbs have as Romanian equivalents constructions with a reflexive pronoun:

Clothes iron more easily when damp.

Hainele se calcă mai ușor când sînt umede.

This chapter represents only an attempt to analyse contrastively a type of constructions with an impersonal value via an unexpressed agent. Fillmore's contribution to the presentation of universal casual relations with an essential role in determining syntactic relations made possible the comparison of very different constructions: intransitive, passive, reflexive.

5.1. The relations between a series of phrases containing entities connected to "an interested person", to a "possessor" and having unique grammatical properties can be explained in terms of the theory of "case grammar". Thus one can find similitudes among the use of the reflexive pronoun, and of the constructions with the possessive Dative in Romanian and the use of possessive adjectives in English, such as:

5 I Maria a spălat mîna lui Ion.

II Maria i-a spălat lui Ion mîna.

III a) Mîna lui Ion a fost spălată de Maria.

b) Mîna lui Ion s-a spălat (de către Maria).

IV Maria l-a spălat pe Ion pe mînă.

V Ion a fost spălat pe mînă de Maria.

VI M-am spălat.

VII Mi-am spălat mîinile.

VIII Miinile-mi s-au spălat.

IX Miinile-mi s-au spălat - -

X Mary washed John's hand

XI John's hand was washed by Mary

XII Mary washed John on his hand

XIII John was washed on his hand by Mary.

XIV I washed my hands.

XV I washed myself.

In the sentences mentioned above, the speakers try "to condense" two judgements in a sentence: A does something to B, B has C; there appears an agent, a possessor (or an interested person) and a possessed object. In some of these examples, the agent is identical with the possessor, and the possessed object belongs to the category of nouns obligatorily possessed (defined by Fillmore in the category "inalienable possession").¹ Although in English and Romanian there exist various ways of connecting the action to its agent and the possessed object to its owner, all the above sentences have an identical deep structure, with the configuration [V + L + A] in which a Verb V can appear in a case frame containing the "Agentive" and the "Locative" Case.²

When the nominal dominated by L is a body-part, the Dative (D), that is "the case of the animate being affected by the state or action identified by the verb"³ which in the deep structure is dominated by L, may become a constituent of P. Thus we obtain [V + D + L + A] .

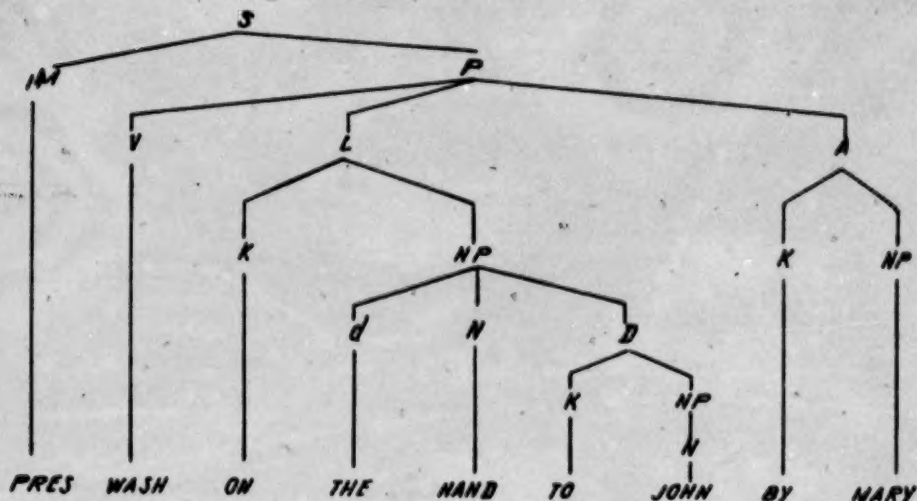
The verb in the example 5 "to wash" can appear in the case frame [— L + A] and except for the construction dominated by

1 Ibidem, pp.61-81.

2 The Locative is the case which "identifies the location or spatial orientation of the state or action identified by the verb" Fillmore, op.cit., p.25.

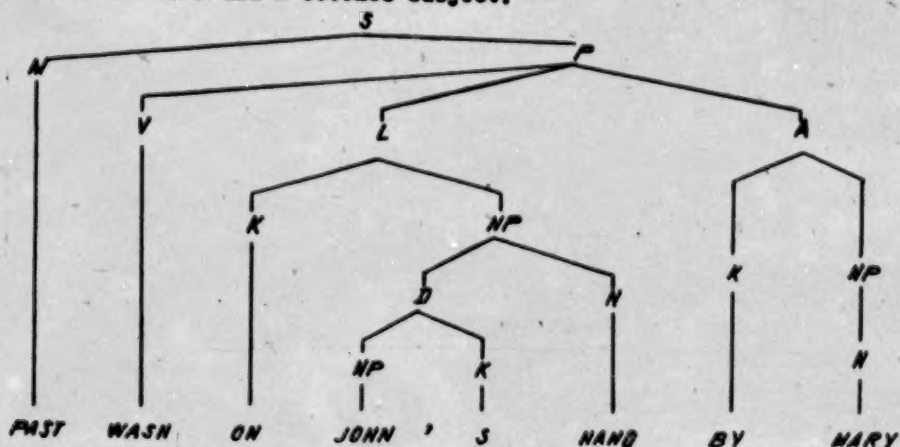
3 Fillmore, op.cit., p.24.

the feature [+ Passive] it deletes the preposition of the following constituent. We begin our analysis from a transformandum with the following structure;



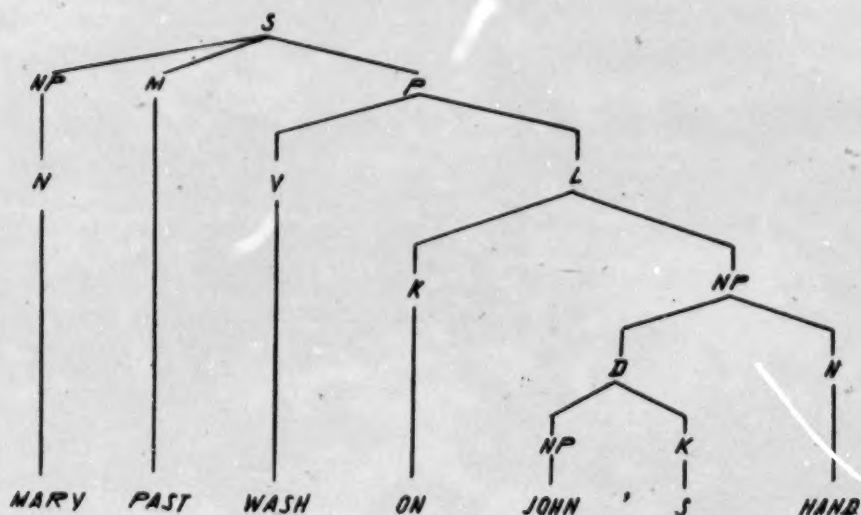
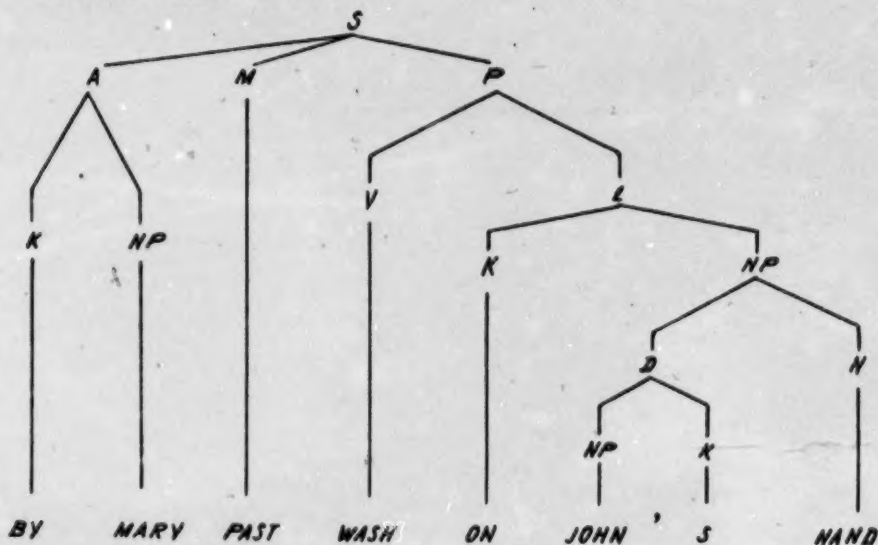
where d is a determiner which in certain situations can copy certain features of P, assuming the form of a possessive adjective.

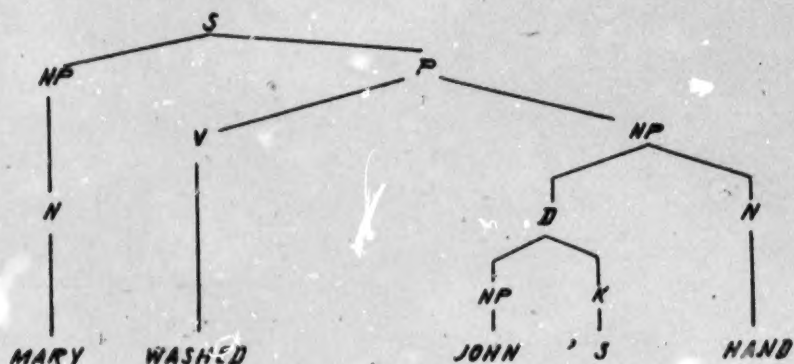
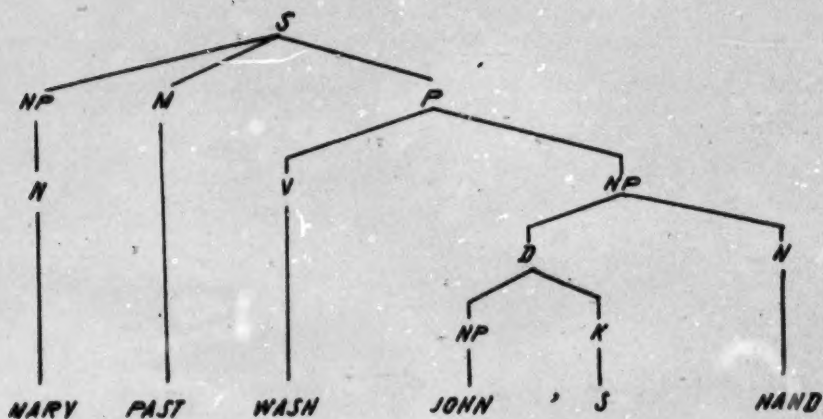
In this paper we are interested in the changes undergone by this sentence in the following cases: when D remains inside L and A becomes subject; when D remains inside L and L becomes subject; when D becomes constituent of P and A subject; when D becomes constituent of P and D becomes subject.



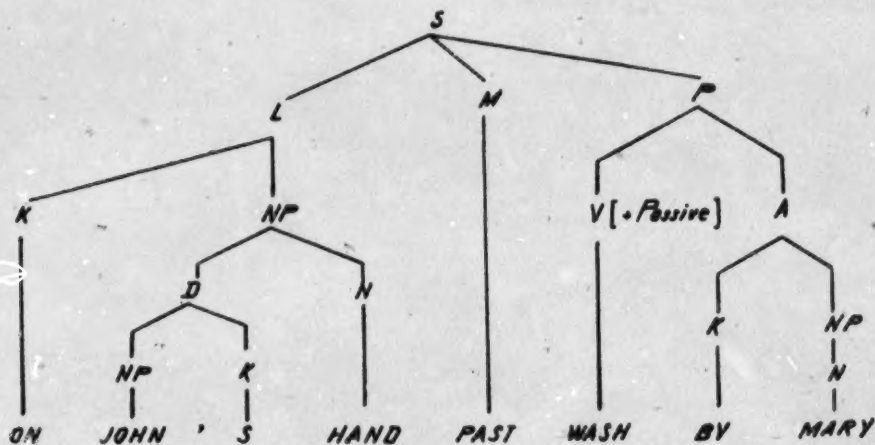
where D remains inside the NP and its position is modified: D is moved in front of N, has a Genitive form and replaces d.

When A becomes subject, it deletes the subject preposition and its case category is erased; the preposition following the verb is deleted and the case category L is erased; the tense is introduced into the V.

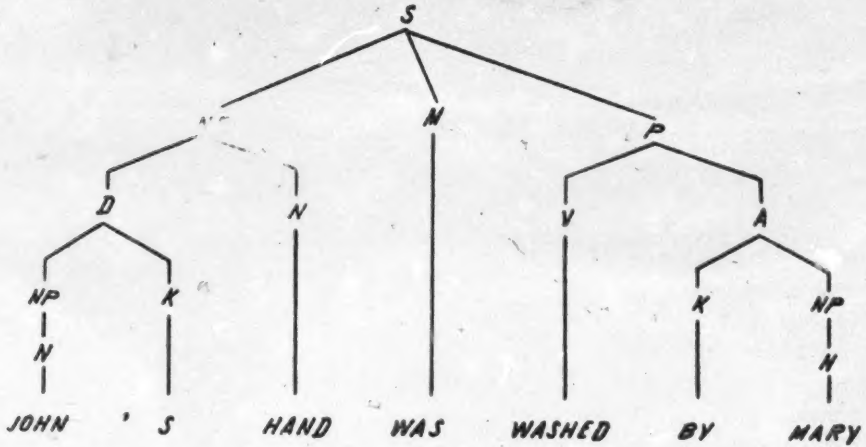




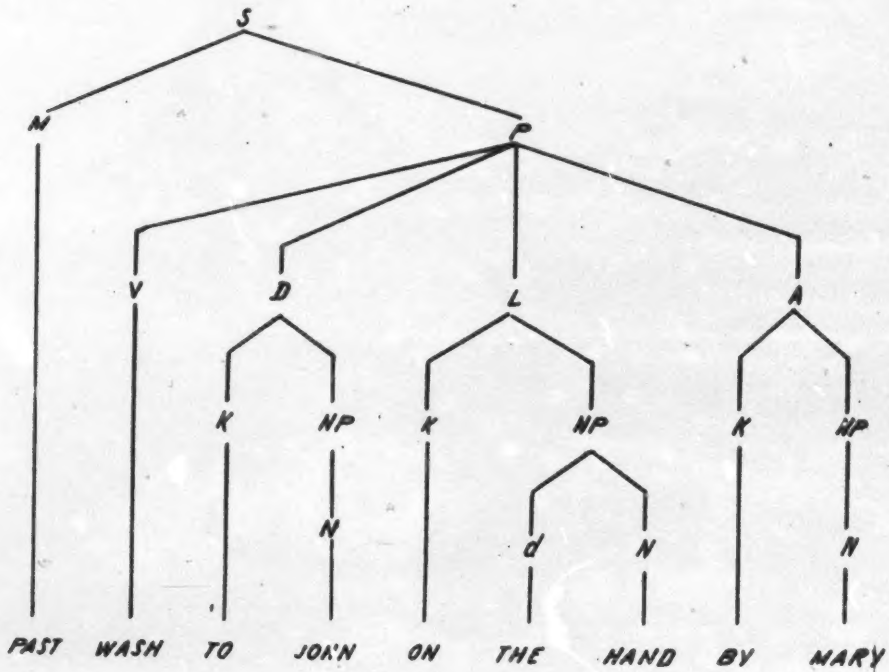
When L becomes subject, the V must acquire the feature [+ Passive] and loses the ability to delete the prepositions and to take the tense affixes.



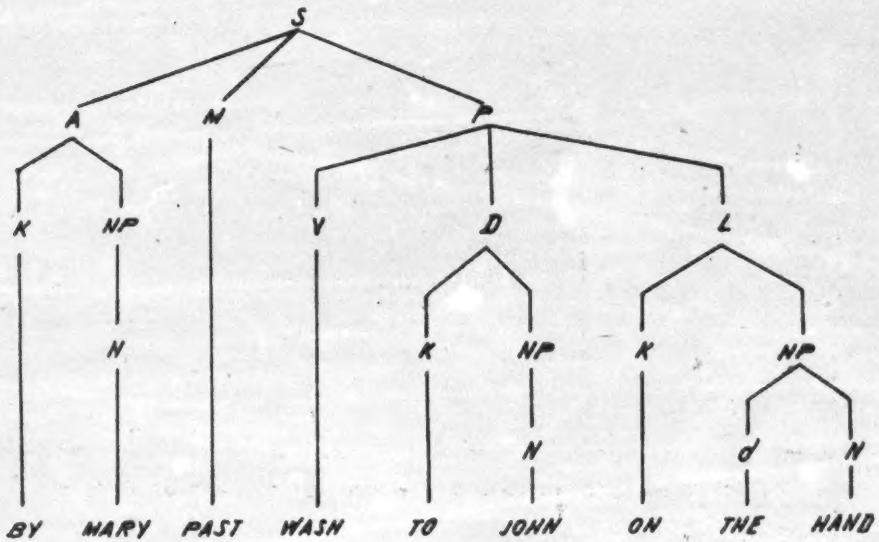
The eventual surface structures is:



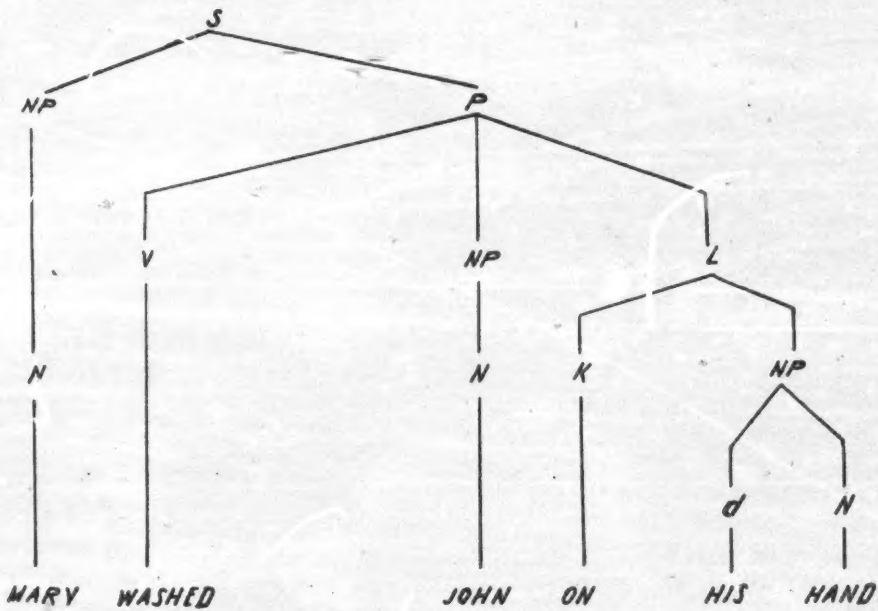
The structure in which D becomes a constituent of P is the following:



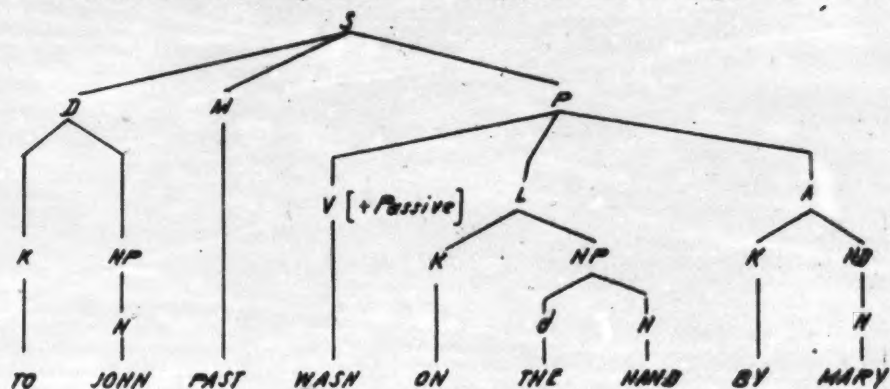
If A becomes the subject we obtain the following tree :



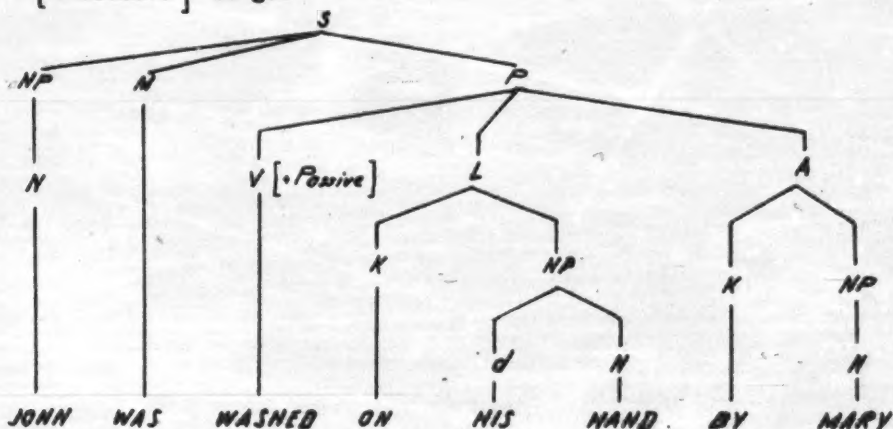
which after undergoing the transformations mentioned above becomes:



On the other hand, if D is subjectivized we get



Applying the transformations required by a verb characterized [+ Passive] we get



Assuming a common deep structure for English and Romanian we shall continue our analysis by presenting the transformations which work on the sentences with the verb "a spăla" to give the sentences of the surface structure peculiar to Romanian.

At the examples 5 I-II we notice the following modification: A is subjectivized by the rule of preposition deletion and of the case label. In the sentence 5 I D remains inside L and assumes the Genitive form and in 5 II D acquires the surface form of D. The objectivization transformation has the superficial effect

of bringing a nominal element in relation of closer association with the verb and it is fulfilled by deleting the preposition of the direct object, when the latter has no semantic marker [+ Personal].

By choosing a noun in the case "Locative" as subject in 5. III the feature [+ Passive] had to be adjoined to the verb, realized in Romanian in two constructions. In the variant (a), the verb loses the property of object preposition retention, or absorbing the tense (which brings about the introduction of the auxiliary "a fi" in the M constituent) and has a special form (apălată). In the variant (b) the reflexive pronoun is used with one of its multiple values, that of being associated with the passive meaning of the construction.

In the example 5. IV, A becomes subject and thus undergoes the subjectivalization transformation and D, constituent of P, is used in the Accusative Case, preceded by the preposition "pe", which characterizes the nouns belonging to the personal gender. This construction is an example of neutralization of the underlying case in the Accusative in the surface structure.

In 5. V, D becomes subject and thus the noun undergoes the subjectivalization transformation and the verb suffers the modification imposed by the association of the feature [+ Passive].

5.2. Further we shall study the modifications which appear in the examples if we assume that the two nominals in the cases "Agentive" and "Dative" are identical. ($A = D$)

5. XVI John washed his hand,¹ where D is replaced by a pro-form, by a possessive adjective with reflexive function, different from "his" in:

¹ This use of the possessive adjective in English was mentioned by Jespersen in "Modern English Grammar" and by Kruisinga "English Accidence and Syntax", vol. II, p. 433. Kemink & Zoon, Utrecht, 1922.

- 5 XVII² Mary washed his hand

The second possible case is

- 5 XVIII John's hand was washed (by him)

- 5 XIX His hand was washed (by John).

In English the construction with a reflexive pronoun is admissible only if the noun designating the body part is not expressed:

- 5 XX John washes himself.

The determiner of the nominal in the Locative case may be a definite article if the verb has the marker [+ Refl].

He threw himself into work.

He shot himself through the leg¹.

When A is identical to D in Romanian the following constructions are possible

- 5 XXI Ion și-a spălat mina

where the pronoun which replaces the repeated noun is the reflexive pronoun with the surface form of the Dative;

- 5 XXII Ion a-a spălat pe mână

where the noun in the Accusative case in the surface structure is replaced by a form of the reflexive pronoun; and the passive construction

- 5 XXIII Mina a fost spălată (de el).

5.3. In both languages one can derive sentences in which two judgements are "condensed": "A does something to A" and "A has B" (in which the agent is identical with the possessor), starting from the common semantic structure [V + D + L + λ]. The differences in the surface structure appear from the various transformations which change this common structure in unique forms, characteristic of each language.

1 The example is quoted from Kruisinga, op.cit., vol.II.

We shall further quote several examples of sentences with similar semantic features, represented in English by constructions with possessive adjectives and in Romanian by constructions with reflexive pronouns in the Dative or the Accusative:

- (1) John hurt his leg. Ion s-a lovit la picior. Ion și-a lovit piciorul.
- (2) John rubs his hands. Ion își freacă mâinile.
- (3) John racks (beats, worries) his ns about ... Ion își frământă capul/creierii cu ...
- (4) John rubs his eyes. Ion se freacă la ochi. Ion își freacă ochii.
- (5) John burns his finger (also fig.). Ion își frige degetele. Ion se frige la degete.
- (6) John breaks his neck. Ion își fringe gîtul.
- (7) John wrings his hands. Ion își frământă mâinile/își frînge mâinile.
- (8) John throws his eyes up. Ion își ridică ochii la cer (în semn de indignare/apel aut). Ion își pune mâinile în cap.
- (9) John turns his steps to ... Ion se îndreaptă ... Ion își îndreaptă pașii spre ...
- (10) John twists his finger. Ion își fringe mâinile (de emoție, durere, etc.).
- (11) John hurt his knee. Ion s-a rănit la genunchi. Ion și-a rănit genunchiul.
- (12) John feeds his eyes on ... Ion își bucură ochii.
- (13) John gargles his throat. Ion își clătește gîtul.
- (14) John rinses his mouth. Ion își clătește gura.
- (15) The dog pricks up its ears. Cîinele își ciulește urechile.
- (16) John smashes his head against the walls. Ion se dă cu capul de pereți.

(17) John opens his lips. Ion își dă drumul la gură.

(18) John rolls his eyes. Ion își dă ochii peste cap.

(19) John throws/gets something off his chest/unbosoms himself (of a secret). Ion își descarcă sufletul (inima).

(20) John pours out/uncovers/opens/unlocks his heart. John reveals his soul to somebody/John breaks his mind to somebody. Ion își descarcă sufletul/inima cuiva.

(21) John unclasps his hands. Ion își descleștează mâinile.

(22) John opens his ears. Ion își destupă urechile.

(23) John finds his tongue (again). Ion își dezleagă limba.

The sentences mentioned above differ very much in the way in which the lexical units are organized and to be able to compare them we have begun our analysis from abstract relational categories, from the theory of "case grammar".

6.1. In this chapter reciprocal constructions will be analysed. Under this heading we introduce phrases characterized by the relation of "jointness in a reciprocal action" as shown in the following examples:

6 I A and B conferred (with each other).

A and B au discutat (unul cu altul).

6 II A and B looked at one another.

A și B s-au privit (unul pe altul).

6 III A and B met.

A și B s-au întâlnit.

These examples illustrate the relationships that may exist between the two languages in this type of construction and demonstrate that, there is, on the whole, a great deal of similarity in this area between English and Romanian. These constructions have certain common syntactic properties as shown by examples

IV, V:

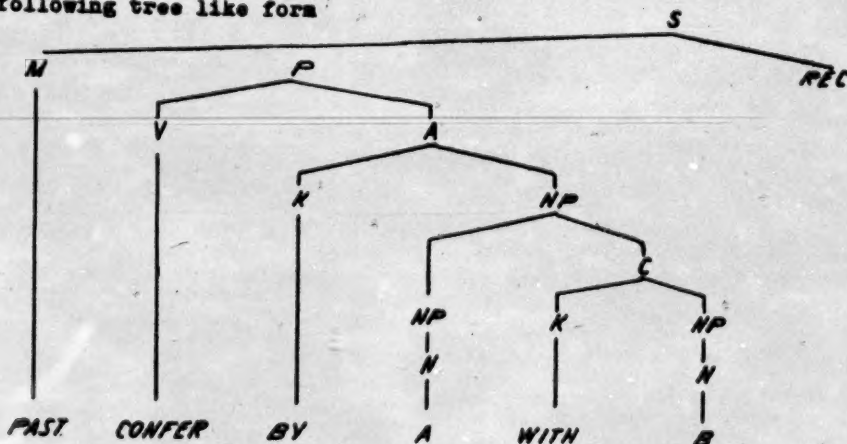
- 6 IV A and B conferred (with each other)
B and A conferred (with each other)
A conferred with B and B conferred with A.

- 6 V A și B au discutat (unul cu altul)
B și A au discutat (unul cu altul)
A a discutat cu B și B a discutat cu A.

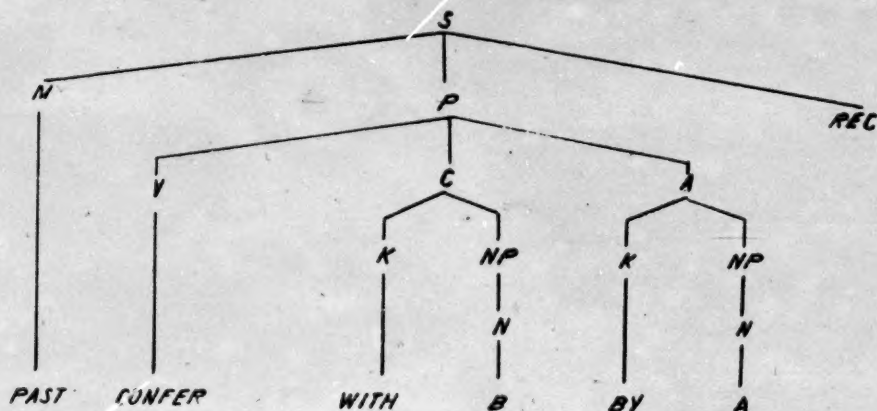
- (1) They may have a subject made up of two nouns connected by a co-ordinating conjunction, or they may have a subject and a prepositional construction.
(2) The order in which the two nouns appear does not influence the general meaning of the sentence.

Apart from not being markedly different stylistically, the sentences just given obviously reflect the same objective state of affairs. The sentences are claimed to be derived by means of language specific transformational rules from the underlying language invariant-syntactic structure $[V + C + A]$, C representing the "Comitative" case. As in Fillmore (op.cit) the definition of this case is not explicitly given, we shall present this concept as "the case designating the one who acts as a partner of the Agentive in a reciprocal action".

The structure of the example 6 I might be represented in the following tree like form



As shown in Fillmore¹ if C remains inside the NP, the entire A becomes the subject. If C becomes a constituent of P it remains in a postverbal position when A becomes the subject.



The Comitative Case is accompanied by the preposition with a comitative function "with". Certain verbs are exceptions to the above generalization, selecting the prepositions "to" or "from", the changes from the initial rule being explained transformationally.

The preposition "to" is usually deleted in the constructions with reciprocal verbs, but it appears in the constructions with adjectives with the semantic marker [+ Rec].²

Thus:

- 6 VI A marries B
but
6 VII A is married to B
6 VIII A equals B
but
6 IX A is equal to B.

The structures with the verbs: correspond to, relate to, conform to, link to, rhyme to/with, communicate to/with, etc. are ex-

1 Op.cit., p.83.

2 In this paper we adopt Lakoff's suggestion, and consider the adjectives a subclass of verbs.

ceptions to the above observation. The proposition "from" which indicates a difference, is not deleted (e.g.: to separate from).

The symbol Rec is rewritten in English $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{one another} \\ \text{each other} \end{array} \right.$ and in Romanian unul altul¹ celălalt¹.

Grammarians largely agree over dividing the construction of the deep structure into two classes, according as the verb contains or not the idea of reciprocity² in its semantic configuration.

The reciprocal pronoun becomes redundant with verbs containing the marker $[+ \text{Rec}]$ and thus its introduction is optional.

The structures:

6 X A met B

6 XI B met A,

are "cognitively synonymous"; they are the mappings of a cognitive invariant (i.e.: of one and the same proposition onto differently structured sentences).³

The characteristics mentioned above may influence the applicability or non-applicability of the transformations which convert the underlying structure into surface structure. Thus, if "A looked at B $[P_1]$ and B looked at A $[P_2]$ is admissible as P_1 is different from P_2 , the starred sentence "A met B and B met A" is ungrammatical in English, being reduced to "A met B".

The presence or the absence of a semantic marker influences

1 according to G. Pană-Dindelegan, op.cit., ch.III.

2 This is suggested by G. Pană-Dindelegan, op.cit. The category of the verbs "intrinsecament reciproques" is also mentioned in a) M. Gross "Grammaire transformationnelle du français. Syntaxe du verb. Larousse 1968; b) Laura Vasiliu "Some grammatical and semantic remarks on the Reflexive Constructions" in "Revue Roumaine de Linguistique". XIV, 1969/4.

3 cf. Rolf Berndt: "Recent Approaches to Grammar and their significance for Contrastive Studies", Studies 1971. The Yugoslav Serbo-Croatian English Contrastive Project.

the transformations which act upon the sentences. With the verbs containing the semantic marker $[+ \text{Rec}]$, the reciprocal pronoun is redundant and the reciprocal transformation¹ which inserts the reciprocal is optional. Rec T is obligatory with verbs characterized negatively by this feature.

We will limit ourselves to call the attention to an excellent treatment of the problem in the paper of Gabriela Pană-Dindelegan. The reciprocal constructions of the deep structure containing verbs characterized semantically by reciprocity are converted into surface structure constructions by applying two types of transformation at option: T_{1a} where the presence of the Reciprocal symbol is optional and T_2 , which is a deletion transformation. These transformations are possible as the transformandum contains verbs with a semantic configuration including the marker $[+ \text{Rec}]$, which assures the semantic recovery of the deleted values. The reciprocal constructions of the deep structure containing verbs characterized semantically by $[- \text{Rec}]$ are divided by the author in several classes. We mention the possibility that the reflexive pronoun may be the bearer of the value of reciprocity.

6.2. There follows a list of verbs whose semantic configuration includes the feature $[+ \text{Rec}]$. We have grouped the examples in synonymic series in which the lexical units are equivalent in their meanings and have comparable syntactic properties.

resemble	a se asemăna
to be alike	a se potrivi
	a semăna
ally with/to	a se alia
unite to/with	a se uni cu
joint to	a se alătura
conjoin	a se coaliza

¹ further referred to as Rec T.

interblend	a se lega
connect	a fuziona
mingle	a se uni
interfuse	a se combina
mix	a conexa
intersperse	a se reuni
coalesce	a se contopi
cohere	a se iabuca
comix	
combine	
commingle	
quarrel	a se certa
fall out	a se ciocorovi
wrangle	a se ciocodani
brawl	a se sfadi
squabble	a se gilcevi
altercate	
dispute	
contest	
settle accounts with	a se rafi
balance accounts with	a se socoti
co-operate	
cope with	a colabore
collaborate with	
commiserate with	
condole with	a simpatiza cu
bargain with	a se tirgui
haggle with	a se tocmi
consort with	
consociate with	a se asocia
associate with	
alternate	a alterne
interchange	a comuta
commute	
intertexture	a se intrețese
interweave	a se încrucișe

intertwist	
interlace	
interbreed	a se corci
cross-breed	a se încrucișă
cross-fertilize	
cohabit	a coabita
commune	a conviețui
	a trăi cu
	a conlocui
intersect (lines)	a se intersecta
cross	a se tăia
cut	

6.3. There are some points of interest for contrastive analysis in the type of verbs containing the marker [+ Rec]. They can be summed up as follows: a large number of verbs are composed with the prefixer { inter-
co - con - com which give to the verb the idea of reciprocity. They are considered as the result of a transformation of prefixation, which converts the preposition characteristic of the Comitative case.

$$6 \quad \text{XII} \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{cu} \rightarrow \text{co -} \\ \text{with} \rightarrow \text{co -} \end{array} \right.$$

$$A \text{ există cu } B \rightarrow A \text{ coexistă cu } B.$$

as in the examples: a coexistă, cointeresea, cometa, comlocui, comfluent, conglăsi, conluora, consăngean, conasanguin, consătați, conasimți, conviețui, concrete, concurge (lav) etc.

A mixes with B $\rightarrow$ A comixează with B
coexist, co-șterse, comix, confederate, confrunt, comove, comensurable, conjoin, concert, consubstantial, consubstantiat, coextensive, co-opt, correlate, etc.

The prepositions "entre", and "between", "among" respectively include in their matrices the inherent feature [+ Rec]. We consider that the prefix "inter" - has appeared as a result of the transformation of prefixation.

6 XIII între → inter-, între-

{ between
→ inter
among

A și B se conectează între ele → A se interconectează cu B.

a interacționa, a interpune, intermolecular, întretaia, a se întreciocni, a se întrepătrunde, a se întrețese, interatomic, interstratificat, interschimba, interesterifica, a se interconecta, intermodula, a se interpola, etc.

A and B change between themselves → A and B interchange interact, interbreed, interchange, interlace, interlock, intermingle, intermix, interconnect, intercross, interflow, intertangle, interwork, interfuse, interchange, interbedded, interlink, intermodulate, etc.

6.4. A point of difference between English and Romanian in the area of pronouns occurring with reciprocal structures involves the use of the Romanian reflexive pronoun as a bearer of the value of reciprocity. In such constructions, the absence of the reciprocal pronoun renders the structure ambiguous.

One can understand 6 IV in two ways:

6 XIV Se iubesc
either as

6 XV Se iubesc unul pe altul

OR

6 XIV Se iubesc pe sine
The sentence:

6 XVII Vă amăgiți

can be understood either as:

6 XVIII Vă amăgiți unul pe altul

OR

6 XIX Vă amăgiți pe voi înșivă.

These sentences can be translated into English only by constructions with reflexive pronouns or only by constructions with reciprocal pronouns, depending on their meaning.

- | | | | |
|---|-------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 6 | XX | They loved | { one another
each other |
| 3 | XXI | They loved themselves | |
| 6 | XXII | They deceive | { one another
each other |
| 6 | XXIII | They deceive themselves. | |

6.5. To sum up the previous observations on the reciprocal constructions we note:

- the existence of a common underlying structure, including verbs with the associated case frames $[+ O + A]$
- the existence of a semantic feature $[+ Rec]$ with consequences on the syntactic level.

We can distinguish in both languages between the reciprocal constructions of the deep structure and the reciprocal construction of the surface structure. The Rec T has several variants according as the verb includes or not the feature $[+ Rec]$ in its semantic configuration. By means of the prefixation transformation we have derived a series of verbs with the marker $[+ Rec]$ from constructions with prepositions which have this feature in their matrix.

7.1. Linguistic phenomena such as those discussed earlier have led some transformational linguists to raise the question of the existence of semantic "distinctions" which probably influence the syntactic structuring. Thus John Lyons has submitted¹ certain proposals that presuppose that both the lexical and the syntactic structures are partly determined by such principles as "agency", "causativity", "state". Research in this direction has received important, new impulses from Fillmore's studies. Other publications to be mentioned in this connection are those of Langendoen and Lakoff, who suggested to us the deep structure

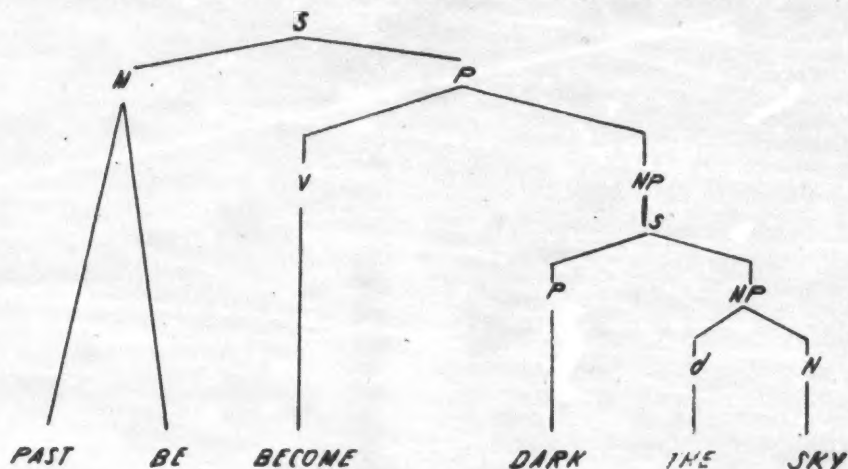
¹ in "Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics", Cambridge, 1969, p. 388.

from which we started deriving the structures containing the "Eventive"

7 I The sky became dark.

7 II The sky darkened.

The sentence 7 I has the following deep structure:

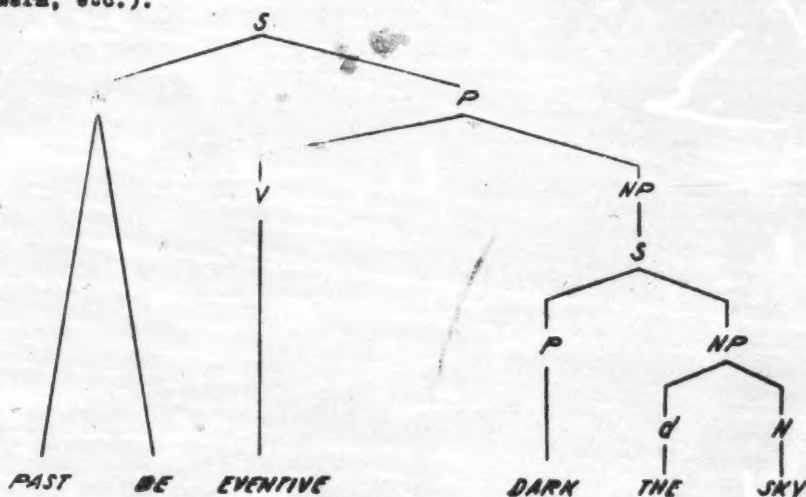


As the sentences 7 I and II are "cognitively synonymous", we could account for the semantic relationships between them by establishing a deep structure for 7 II which is significantly similar to that we provide for 7 I. It represents a verb with the same features as "become" but not associated with any particular lexical item, an abstract predicate called "Eventive". In Lakoff¹ and later in Langendoen² the term "inchoative" is used, which shows the beginning of an action. In our opinion the term "Abstract Eventive Predicate" is more adequate as it suggests that the subject was transposed into a different state. When the predicate substitutes for the abstract predicate, it can change its

1 Lakoff "Phrasal Conjunction and Symmetric Predicates" published in "Modern Studies in English. Readings in Transformational Grammar. Ed. Reibel and Shane. Prentice Hall.

2 T. Langendoen "The Study of Syntax". The Transatlantic Series in Linguistic, 1969.

form by adding a suffix or a prefix or can preserve a form identical with the adjective from which it is derived (eg. yellow, warm, etc.).



In Romanian we witness the presence of a reflexive pronoun, but it is not necessarily connected with the Eventive predicate, as the constructions of the surface structure belong to the following classes:

A. Constructions without reflexive pronoun: *a slăbi*, *a paraliza*, *a îmbătrâni*, *a cheli*, *a îngheța*, *a sărăci*, etc.

B. Constructions with reflexive pronoun: *ferestra se murdărește*, *ridurile se adâncesc*, *frunzele se îngălbenesc*, *dinții se cariază*, *copilul se sperie*, *vremea se răcorește*, *haina se strânge*, *rochia se lungăște*, *laptele se condensează*, *rana se cicatrizează*, *vinul se acrește*, *fața s-a îngroșat*, *camere se încălzesc*, etc.

The eventive transformation converts structures containing adjectives into verbal constructions with an eventive meaning. Here are a few examples of English verbs where semantic properties, especially their paraphrasability, have been taken into consideration: to dirty, to cool, to wet, to warm, to ripen, to hard-

en, to soften, to thicken, to smoothen, to heat, to enrich, to enlarge, to frighten, to lighten, to deepen, etc.

The class of eventive sentences includes sentences with the abstract eventive predicate, as well as sentences with such predicates as "become, get, go, grow, turn, run", and "a deveni", "a se face", respectively whose matrices contain the feature [+ Eventive].

Comparing the surface structure eventive constructions we have noticed that the English sentences in which the adjective is not "welded" to the predicate correspond in a large number of cases to single verbs in Romanian, the adjective forming the corresponding verb by means of a transformation of suffixation or prefixation. This is especially the case with frequent expressions such as:

a se înrăutăți - to grow worse, to go bad
s-a scorit (laptele) - the milk turned sour
s-a înroșit (la față) - his face turned red
a se sălbătici - to run wild
a se îmbolnăvi - to fall sick
a se înnebuni - to go mad
a se obișnui - to get accustomed to
to get used to

In the cases where the English structure "eventive predicate + Adj" corresponds to a single eventive verb in Romanian, the Romanian learners of English should be made aware of this derivational phenomenon in their language and, perhaps, told what affixes in Romanian tend to have the feature [+ Eventive] in their matrices.

7.2. This analysis provides a satisfying solution to the problem of some very concise phrases, peculiar to English. They con-

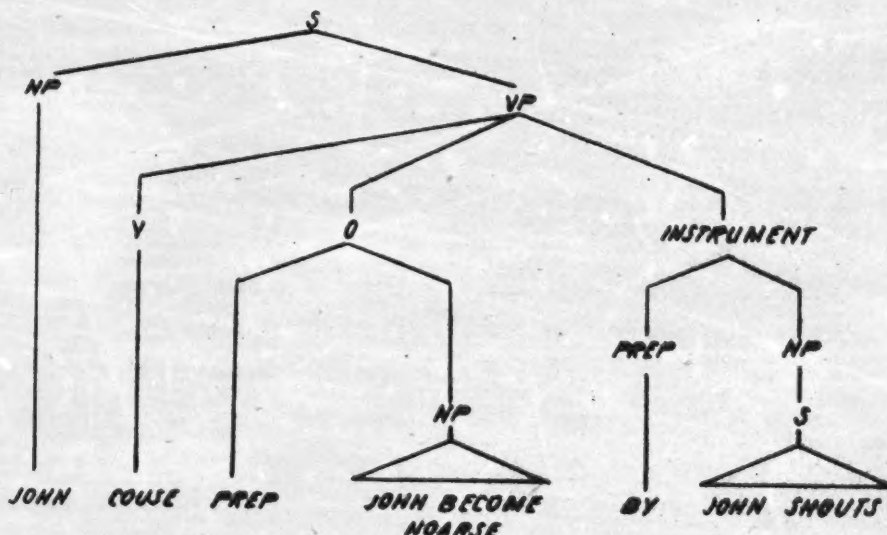
tain a verb characterized by [- Refl T] in other contexts as :

7 III "He shouted himself hoarse".

He shouted until he became hoarse.

A strigat pînă a răgușit.

The deep structure of the sentence 7 III could be represented as follows (unnecessary details are omitted) :



The following phrases are interpreted as having the same representation: to drink oneself sober, to drink oneself poor, to eat oneself sick, to talk oneself hoarse, to sleep oneself sober, to work oneself ill, to read oneself to sleep (a citi pînă a adormi), to run oneself out of breath.

He talked himself out of our friendship. Prin cele ce a spus ne-a pierdut de prieteni.

He good-byed himself out of the room - A ieșit din cameră spunînd la revedere.

The child cried itself to sleep - copilul a plîns pînă a adormit.

All the verbs mentioned above, although characterized by [- Refl T] have, in this context, a common semantic feature :

the identity between the agent and the patient. The phrases are the result of a transformation of deletion of two sentences (1) a causal clause and (2) an eventive clause.

8. This paper is an attempt at a contrastive analysis of the phrases in which the reflexive pronoun appears. Using the transformational approach we have tried to explain the interrelation between the common elements in the deep structure and the unique elements in the surface structure of English and Romanian. Although the adoption of the transformational theory raises the problem of converting the results of the analysis into a format appropriate for teaching purposes, we consider that this theory has advantages which make up for these difficulties. In many cases the correspondences and the differences between two languages can be noticed if the full power of generative models is exploited.

Relating the results of our paper to those obtained by the contrastive analysis papers, limited to the analysis of the surface structure, as well as to those presented in the papers of traditional grammar of English and Romanian we notice the following aspects:

- there is no necessary link between reflexives and reciprocals, or between reflexives and impersonal, or between reflexives and eventive as there are reciprocal, impersonal and eventive sentences in which the reflexive does not occur;

- the heterogeneity of the reflexive constructions in consequence of the fact that no distinction is made between the constructions appearing in the deep structure and those existing only in the surface structure.

In this paper, we have isolated by means of translation the units with an equivalent meaning in the two languages and then we have compared the lexical units so obtained from the point of view of their syntactic and semantic features.

The differences and the similitudes between the two languages have been described as differences and similitudes between rules, the comparison, as a device of the contrastive analysis studying the form and the place of the grammar rules. We have used both the chomskyan and the fillmorian model, when analysing related or very remote structures in the two languages.

To sum up the main types of reflexive constructions, assuming a common deep structure, we have found the following:

A. The Refl. is occurrent in both languages in the derivation of the symbol Verb in the following two cases:

a) when the verb is obligatorily reflexive, this category being far more frequent in Romanian; the English equivalents of the Romanian verbs which are always accompanied by reflexive pronouns are intransitive verbs and phrases;

b) when the same phonological representation may form at least two constructions, a reflexive and a non-reflexive one.

We have distinguished in the same phonological representation verbs:

(1) which cannot enter the reflexive constructions, as they do not allow the identity of their subject and objects from verbs which form reflexive constructions;

(2) transitive verbs with the object characterised by the feature [- Animate] from verbs which enter the constructions with reflexive pronouns.

B. The Refl is occurrent in the surface structure of both languages as a result of the Refl T. The Refl T may be followed by a nominalisation transformation which has as a result lexical units of the type "self-approving, self-deceiver"; these are very frequent in English and correspond in Romanian to constructions with the prefix auto-, limited in use to the technical vocabulary or to neologisms.

C. In Romanian, the Refl appears in constructions with verbs accompanied by the case frame $[-C(A)]$. We can derive from this representation various surface structures by means of transformations. In Romanian, the absence of A brings about an additional element, the reflexive pronoun, the construction having a passive, impersonal meaning. The English equivalent is a sentence with an intransitive verb. In both languages, the constructions in which these verbs have the feature $[+Passive]$ are cognitively synonymous with the "normal" constructions: reflexive in Romanian and intransitive in English.

D. In Romanian the reflexive appears in sentences with the structure $[V + L + A]$. In case the nominal dominated by L is a body part, D may become a constituent of P, yielding a sentence of the type $[V + D + L + A]$. By a series of transformations typical of each language we get constructions with a possessive adjective in English and constructions with a reflexive pronoun in the Dative or the Accusative in Romanian. All these sentences have similar semantic features: they "condense" two judgements: "A does something to A" and "A has B" and they have the agent identical with the possessor.

E. In Romanian, the reflexive pronoun may accompany verbs with the case frame $[+C + A]$. The verbs which appear in this configuration are characterised by the semantic feature $[+Rec] / [-Rec]$ and they are modified by the Rec T which has several variants.

F. The reflexive pronoun may appear in Romanian in the "Eventive" constructions which have an underlying semantic structure with an eventive abstract predicate. The class of the eventive sentences includes:

- (1) sentences with an eventive abstract predicate (frequent in Romanian);

(2) sentences with a predicate marked semantically by [+ Eventive] and an adjective (frequent in English).

The observations made in this work are possible only if the contrastive analysis uses an explicit model of linguistic description such as the transformational grammar. The limits of this method have often been pointed out: the more theoretical the orientation, the more difficult the transfer of the results of CA for teaching purposes.

However it seems to me that the results of our paper could be of use to teachers of English or to authors of textbooks as the contrastive analysis made on a rich linguistic material will clear up some aspects so far left unexplained in the traditional grammar and may facilitate the comparison between a number of structures very remote from a syntactic point of view, but cognitively synonymous.